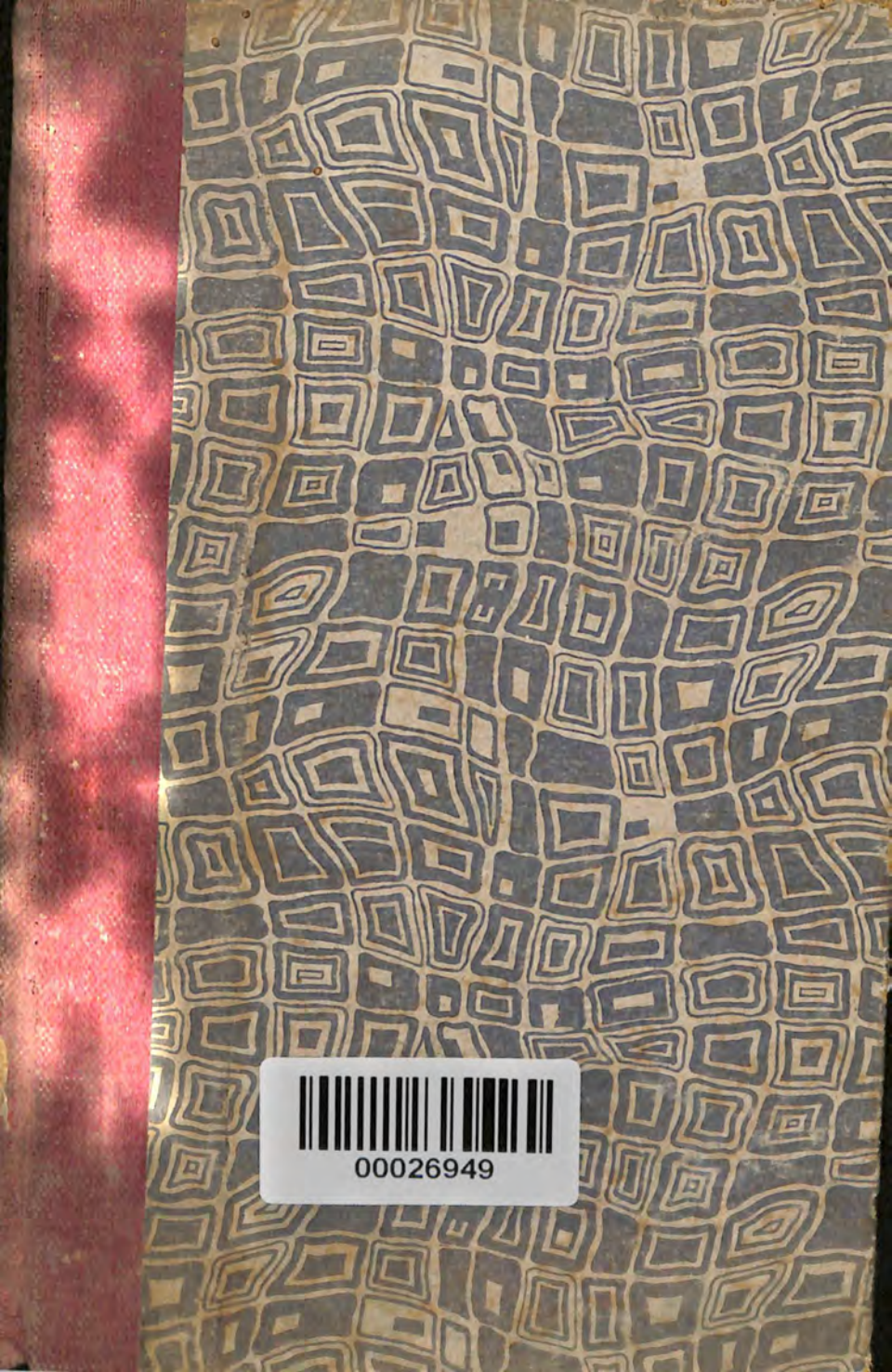

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THE

GREEK REVOLUTION;

ITS

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS:

TOGETHER WITH SOME REMARKS ON

THE RELIGION, NATIONAL CHARACTER, &c. IN GREECE.

BY

EDWARD BLAQUIERE, Esq.

AUTHOR OF

"AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION," &c.

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"I cannot, indeed, conceive a more delightful contemplation, how much more any effort to realize it! than the return of the Greeks to their ancient character and renown. It is animating, therefore, to see the first traces that have as yet appeared of probable resurrection of a people of such high antiquity, buried for so many centuries in the womb of time, and every virtuous hope must be on the stretch, that the consummation of the miracle may be in our times!"—Lord Erskine.

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1824.

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TO

THOMAS GORDON, Esq.

OF CAIRNESS,

THIS IMPERFECT SKETCH OF EVENTS,

IN WHICH

HE HAS TAKEN SO DISTINGUISHED

AND

SO HONOURABLE A PART,

IS DEDICATED;

BY HIS DEVOTED AND AFFECTIONATE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

At Spa, *April 5th*, 1824.

the names of Chatfield, Elliott and many others, whose exertions, whether literary or otherwise, do honor to the priesthood.

Nor can I close these remarks, without acknowledging my obligations to Mr. Gordon, of Cairness, whose extensive knowledge of all that is connected with the origin and progress of the Greek struggle, not less than his talents as a writer, fitted him more than any one else I could name, to become the historian of the revolution. To Mr. Barker, of Thetford, whose excellent letter to the Rev. Mr. T. S. Hughes, one of the earliest and most eloquent appeals in behalf of the Greek cause, does him so much credit, and whose unwearied exertions to excite the active sympathy of individuals throughout the country are entitled to the highest praise, my best thanks are also due; and if I have not availed myself of the valuable materials placed in my hands by him, to the extent I could have wished, it has arisen solely from the necessity of my leaving England before I could give full developement to a subject which I had hoped to be enabled to illustrate in a manner much more ample and satisfactory.

palliation for the imperfections to be found in these pages, as well as the hurried manner in which I have been obliged to terminate the concluding chapter.

To those gentlemen of the Public press, with whom my humble efforts to promote the cause of Greece have brought me in communication, my most particular thanks are due; more especially for the ready and able support I experienced during my late visit to Bristol, Manchester, and Liverpool, for the purpose of exciting sympathy in favour of the struggling people of Greece. And here I may be allowed to observe that, while that class of the community, upon which the Greeks had every right to calculate for sympathy and support, seemed insensible to the appeal so oft made, the conductors of the daily and periodical press have, with one or two exceptions, uniformly advocated a cause, of which the justice and importance must now be acknowledged by its bitterest enemies. In deploring the unaccountable fatality which could have prevented the great mass of that sacred profession from coming forward in aid of this most righteous cause, it would be an act of manifest injustice, were I to omit

THE

GREEK REVOLUTION,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Anomaly.—Contrast between the Turks and other Conquerors: their Motives of Action.—Capture of Constantinople.—Legitimacy of the Porte.—Treatment of the Greek People.—Karatch or Capitation Tax.—Effects of the Crusades.—Conquest of Greece never completed.—Measures of Precaution.—Klephthai.—Russian Influence.—Peter the Great and Catharine II.—War of 1769.—Treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardgi.—Persecutions.—Ali-Pasha.—Progress of Knowledge and Education among the Greeks.—Their Schools and Colleges.—Commercial Spirit of the Islanders.—Hydra Spezzia and Ipsara.—Origin of the Grecian Navy.

Although historians have attempted to account for the success which attended the Mahometan hordes who invaded the East of Europe in the fifteenth century, their being so long suffered to retain conquests made for the avowed purpose of extirpating christianity, will no doubt be regarded as one of the most extraordinary anomalies in the history of modern times. Nor is the astonishment excited by this circumstance diminished,

when we reflect, that the barbarians who had so easily destroyed a christian empire, have been retrograding in knowledge during the whole period of their usurped dominion, whilst those who were bound to repel them, have boasted a no less rapid advancement in science and civilization.

In contemplating the fatal ascendancy of the Turks in Europe, it is impossible not to be forcibly struck by the contrast exhibited in their policy as conquerors, to that of all other nations, ancient or modern. While the victorious armies of Greece and Rome carried laws and the useful arts into conquered countries, the Goths, Vandals, and Tartars, gradually adopted the manners and religion of those whom they had subjugated; it was reserved for the followers of Mahomet alone, to wage an eternal war with knowledge and virtue. And if they have not recurred to the system of extermination pursued by the enemies of our Saxon ancestors, or that of Timour and Ghengis Khan in more recent times, it is because they hoped to profit by the labours of those who had the misfortune to become their vassals.

When the imbecility and dissensions of the Christian powers enabled the infidels to over-run the provinces which had previously formed the Eastern empire, it is undeniable that their only motive for not destroying the Greek population arose from the certainty of turning the talents and industry of the latter to a profitable account.

This fact is, therefore, of itself sufficient evidence to prove that the barbarians were the first to establish the right of revolt on the part of the Greeks, whenever it could be effected with any prospect of success. An indisputable answer is thus given to all that sophistry and prejudice have urged to connect the present struggle with extraneous causes.

It is no longer matter of historical doubt that, although the capitulation which preceded the fall of Constantinople, when it surrendered to Mahomet II. in 1543, guaranteed the protection of life, religion and property to the Christians, yet were they given up to indiscriminate slaughter; and so far from there having been a subsequent compact entered into either by the victors or the vanquished, both parties have continued in a state of perfect separation ever since; while that of the Greek people has been embittered by a slavery more galling and degrading than ever fell to the lot of any nation. Well, therefore, may the Greeks of the present day, found the justice of their insurrection on the very nature of the conquest, and the treatment which has invariably followed in its train.

In reply to those, for such there are, who have gravely descanted on the legitimacy of the Turkish dominion over Greece, it has been very justly asked whether a professedly anti-Christian system of government, and a despôt whose most solemn

obligations, religious and political, forbid him from regarding the followers of Christ in any other light than tributary slaves, can pretend to a right, supposed by those who have conferred it on the Sultan, to emanate from the Divinity? It might also be demanded, whether those who advocate the legitimacy of a system founded on fraud and violence, are not establishing maxims pregnant with danger to the stability of the governments they would fain uphold?

If these facts left any doubt on the unprejudiced, as to the justice of the cause in which the people of Greece are engaged, or on the absurdity of attempting to draw a parallel between them and the struggles of cotemporary nations; we need only look into the page of history, and reflect on the treatment experienced by the Greeks during a captivity of four centuries, a treatment which has been unchanged and unmitigated under every succeeding tyrant, no matter what may have been the modifications of his character or power. Considered as a degraded caste in every sense of the word, without one solitary guarantee either for life, religion, or property, the only hope held out to those who wished to escape from this intolerable yoke, was in apostatizing from the faith of their fathers; nor is there a single Greek living, who has attained the age of manhood, under the iron sway of Turkey, that has not also felt the rod of Mahometan oppression.

While the establishment and continuance of the Karatch or capitation tax proves, that their lives have been subjected to a yearly ransom, thus paying as it were for leave to exist, it is a fact of incontrovertible notoriety that no bond of fidelity, or oath of allegiance, was ever exacted from the Greek vassals of the Porte. In alluding to the general system of government, a native writer has thus expressed himself. "Have not thousands of my countrymen been sacrificed to gratify the vindictive spirit, or capricious folly of our tyrants? Have not Pachas, who purchased the right to govern through bribery and corruption, gone among the devoted people for no earthly object, but that of spoliation and plunder? Men, under whose rule the possession of property was a crime, and a few thousand piastres, the earnings of a long life, frequently tantamount to a sentence of death. Have not whole communities been deprived of the right of public worship, on the most frivolous pretence, or until some exorbitant demand was satisfied, while many a Christian has been forced to become an apostate on the evidence of a Turk, who had heard him say, he meant to change his faith? And when vengeance was to be satiated for some imaginary crime or alledged resistance, have not pestilence and famine been brought to the aid of the scymetar and bow-string?"

It would indeed be an endless task to repeat all the grievances brought forward by the Greek

people, in justification of their efforts to be relieved at any price, from a yoke that had become insupportable; and when it is considered that the millions of human lives sacrificed in the crusades, should have produced no other effect than leaving the descendants of those who had given knowledge and civilization to the rest of Europe to their melancholy fate, the manner in which the effort to throw off this dreadful yoke has been met by the christian world, must ever be a source of the keenest regret to all the real friends of religion and humanity.

Such are a few, and only a few, of the permanent causes which led to the present struggle, and to prove that the conquest on which their oppressors ground those pretensions of supremacy so frequently put forth since the contest has commenced, was never completed, the Greeks point with pride and exultation to the resistance made by Souli, Maina, Olympus, Candia, and other places, whose unconquerable sons have never acknowledged the dominion of the infidels since their unprovoked invasion in the fifteenth century. With respect to the charges of degeneracy and corruption so inconsiderately made against the Greek people, though this may not be the place to refute them, it is yet of importance to observe that, however they may have deplored the succession of calamities commencing with their conquest by the Romans, through the degradation that followed the transfer of the capital to Byzantium, a

degradation which the introduction of christianity did not diminish, down to the last fatal scene that reduced them to a galling and hopeless bondage, the Greeks never lost sight of their imprescriptible rights, or of their former glory.

With these sentiments, and such multiplied causes of discontent, the least of which would justify an appeal to the sword in the most despotic country of Europe, no wonder that hatred should have been engendered on one side, and distrust on the other. Thus it was, that while the poor christian slave panted for the hour of retribution and deliverance, his infidel master, who at best only considered himself as the temporary occupier of the land, lived in a state of incessant disquietude and alarm. Convinced from fear and tradition, that an explosion was inevitable, the Turks always looked with the utmost jealousy and suspicion on the Greek vassals, while scarcely any apprehensions were entertained from the christians of Armenia, whose manners and habits bore a striking resemblance to their own. Among other measures of precaution adopted in European Greece, whenever any rumour of insurrection was circulated, it was customary for the Turkish proprietors to abandon the open country, and shut themselves up in the fortresses. If the empire happened to be engaged in foreign war, the christians were forced to deliver up their arms. These arbitrary acts were, however, far from insuring

tranquillity, as numerous bands of the hardy and enterprising mountaineers occupied the fastnesses of the woods and inaccessible heights with which the country abounds, and carried on an unceasing warfare under chiefs called *Capitani*, but who adopted the native appellation of *Klepthai*, or robbers, deeming it honorable to accept any designation, rather than live in a slavish submission to the enemies of their faith, and the oppressors of their country. Several of these chiefs, who now lead the soldiers of Greece to victory, make it their proudest boast, that their ancestors never submitted to pay tribute, and that as they have themselves never done so, the pretended right of conquest advanced by the Porte is a mere delusion.

Next to the injustice of mixing up the Greek contest with those efforts which have been made by the people of Spain and Italy, to acquire the blessings of freedom, evidently put forth to justify the anti-christian policy of the Holy Alliance, may be ranked the notion that Russian interests or influence had any share in stimulating the Greeks of Epirus, the Morea, and Archipelago to rise. When experience had taught the people of Greece, that the expulsion of the Venetians, and degeneracy of the knights of Malta, left them no hope of sympathy or support from those two powers,* they

* The failure of the Venetians and knights of St. John, to make head against the Turks, might be attributed to various causes, but to none so much as their jealousies, and that tendency to degenerate,

naturally cast their eyes towards a nation professing the same religion, and there were many circumstances connected with the events which ushered in the last century, that seemed highly favourable to a more intimate connexion. It will however be seen, that with the most ample means of succouring her ill-fated co-religionists, the interference of Russia has been a source of infinite calamity to Greece.

Peter the Great, having subdued his Swedish opponent, turned all his attention to those who had ever been regarded as the bitter enemies of his power, and although no very effectual measures

which led to their ultimate extinction. Scarcely less superstitious and bigotted than the infidels, their general treatment of the Greeks is said to have been very little better.

It is true that the love of gain, and ambition of conquest, frequently gave rise to acts of gallantry, both on the part of Venice, and the Knights, as instanced in the defence of Rhodes, Valetta, and during the war of 1684, conducted by Morosini, and which ended in the conquest of the Morea. When, however, the Greeks saw no hopes of freedom for themselves, they were not very likely to sympathize, or make common cause, with the new conquerors.

It was after Europe had been exhausted by the war of succession, in which Venice contrived to remain neutral, that the Turks succeeded in wresting the Morea from her hands, and, agreeable to the old system, this was carried on as one of extermination. Corinth and Napoli di Romania, which were taken in 1715, made a most spirited resistance, and when captured, every soul, both of the garrison and inhabitants, was put to the sword.

Although the treaty of Passarowitz concluded in 1718, left the Venetians in possession of Prevesa, Vonizza, and one or two points in Dalmatia, these were never turned to account.

could be adopted for carrying his designs into effect, during a reign in which he was occupied in laying the foundation of a power now become so colossal, it is not to be doubted that the plan of driving the Turks out of Europe originated with the above monarch.

While in pursuance of the grand object which first prompted the invasion of Europe, the Turks omitted no opportunity of attacking Austria, as the readiest way to extend their conquests in Christendom; the Russian cabinet never lost sight of its own plans with regard to Turkey. The astonishing progress made by Russia, under the fostering administration of the Tzar, whilst his Mahometan rivals were fast sinking into that weakness and decrepitude, which has since overtaken them, was highly favourable to his views; and the whole reign of Catherine proves how sedulously that extraordinary woman followed up the system traced out by her great predecessor. No sooner, in fact, had she seized the reins of government, than the favourite project, drawn up by the celebrated Marshal Munich,* some years before, was revived; and had her intentions been more ably supported in the war of 1769, there is every reason to believe, both the Peloponessus

* This plan, in which the restoration of the eastern Empire was formally proposed, led to a partial rising of the Greeks, who were, however, abandoned to their fate in the peace of 1739.

and Archipelago would have been wrested from the infidels before its conclusion.

One of the first measures of this war, was that of dispatching a fleet into the Mediterranean, together with a body of troops.* The proclama-

* The fact of Turkey having gone to war in 1768, to frustrate the designs of Catherine against Poland, is not among the least singular of those anomalies which have marked the history of Europe. So far, however, from being able to render the devoted Poles any service, the contest only added to the power of Russia, while it greatly diminished that of the Porte.

Were it possible to accord admiration to the most cruel despoiler of Poland, Catherine would deserve it, for the bold and enterprising spirit which prompted her, even against the advice of her ministers, to send a fleet into the Mediterranean from the Baltic. The execution of this plan, which appears to have been entirely due to the Empress, was every way worthy of a successor to Peter the Great; and such an expedition, undertaken by a nation that had till then been scarcely recognized as a naval power, might well excite the jealousy and astonishment of Europe.

The naval armament consisted of twenty sail of the line, with a proportion of smaller vessels and transports. On reaching the Coast of Greece, in November, 1769, the troops, to the number of 2,500, were landed at Navarin, and were immediately joined by the Mainotes, and all the Greeks who could procure arms; Mytelene, Naxos, and several other islands were also taken possession of: after this, the ships of war proceeded to the Coast of Asia Minor, and made an attack on the Turkish fleet, which ended in its total destruction.

To render success certain, the agents of Catherine had secured a powerful ally for Russia, in Ali Bey, the governor of Egypt, a man from whom the actual ruler of that country, Mehemet Pacha, seems to have derived nearly all his plans for the improvement of that country, and separating it from the jurisdiction of the Porte.

tions issued on this occasion, contained a formal invitation to the Greeks, to rise and shake off the Turkish yoke. This call was instantly obeyed throughout the Morea, and in many of the islands. It has been truly observed of the war, that its issue was not more unfortunate than the operations were ill-concerted. Nothing could have been more disastrous to the people of Greece. Abandoned to their fate by the power who had caused them to revolt, an army of fierce Albanians* was sent into the Morea, while the

Were it not for the incapacity and indolence of Orloff, whom Catherine, by a strange caprice, appointed to command her fleet, it is supposed the project of liberating Greece, if not of driving them across the Hellespont, would have been realized.

It is worthy of remark, that the organization and early successes of the Russian navy was exclusively due to British officers, to whom Catherine gave the utmost encouragement. The names of Greig, Elphinstone, and Dugdale, are cited by a French biographer of the Empress, as having, by their gallantry and exertions alone, achieved the brilliant victory of Tchesme in this war.

When the treaty of Kainardgi put an end to hostilities in 1774, a series of special clauses were introduced, guaranteeing protection to the Greeks who had answered the call of Catherine.

* It is stated by Eton, in his Survey, that not content with letting these merciless hordes loose upon the devoted Greeks, a deliberate proposal was made in the divan, to slaughter them all in cold blood, innocent and guilty, of whatever age or sex; but that it was successfully opposed by Gazi-Hassan, both from motives of humanity and policy. The chief argument which he used, and which alone carried conviction to his hearers, was—*If we kill all*

punishment of the Islanders was left to the Capitan Pacha. As might be expected, a relentless persecution followed, and continued with little intermission for some years. The result of an effort, on which such bright hopes had been founded, was, that besides the most wide spread devastation throughout the land, it is calculated that not less than one hundred thousand Greeks of every age and sex, either perished by the sword, or were carried into slavery.

The increasing decrepitude of the Turks, as proved by the successes of Russia during the war, which terminated with the treaty of Kainardgi, only tended to stimulate Catherine in her project of dismembering Turkey, and placing a Russian Prince on a throne at Constantinople.* Her

the Greeks, we shall lose all the capitation they pay. "Even without such a provocation," says Mr. Eton, "Sultan Mustapha, predecessor and brother of Abdulhamid, on his accession to the throne, proposed to *cut off all the Christians in the empire*, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it." Here the writer very properly asks, "Is this a nation which merits that Britain should enter into a war for its defence?"

* A biographer of Catherine in describing her famous visit to Cherson in 1787, declares that she did not intend to return to the Capital, before her grandson Constantine was placed on the throne of a new Eastern empire, and that nothing but his having contracted the meazles, added to some unexpected reverses experienced on the Tartar frontier, prevented this scheme from being realized. The triumphal arch erected by order of Potemkin, at the western gate of Cherson, with the following inscription in Greek: "This

gaining over Leopold of Austria to co-operate in a new war was well calculated to insure success, and had the Austrian contingent performed its part better, there can be no doubt that the Russian army would have reached the Turkish capital, whatever the final result of the war might have been.*

is the road to Constantinople," proves how little Russia sought to disguise her views.

As to Constantine himself, every possible step was taken to render him popular among the people of Greece. Even his name had a pointed reference to the grand project; he was nursed by Greek women, brought from Naxos for the express purpose; the Archduke's dress was Greek, and he was always surrounded by children of that nation, in order to acquire the language, which he soon spoke with great facility. A Grecian cadet corps of two hundred was also formed, destined to become the ground work of a much larger corps.

Eton states that, after the mission of Greek patriots who proceeded to St. Petersburgh in 1790, had been most graciously received by the empress, and promised all the assistance they required, they were conducted to the apartments of her grandsons, and on offering to kiss the hand of Alexander the eldest grand duke, he pointed to his brother Constantine, saying, it was to him they were to address themselves: having represented to him the object of their mission, and concluded by doing homage to him as their emperor, he answered them in their own language. "Go, and let every thing be according to your wishes."

* It would perhaps be impossible to cite a more glaring error in the diplomatic annals of the last fifty years, than that committed by the ministers of England and France, in urging the Porte to declare against Russia in the first instance, and then leave it to carry on the war single-handed. Had it not been for their subsequent threats, the fate of Turkey was inevitable.

The rise of Ali Pacha not long after the peace of Kainardgi, rendered the situation of the Greeks more hopeless than ever; the enterprising and ferocious spirit of this chief had enabled him to extinguish the last remains of christian freedom in Epirus, putting down or expelling numerous bands, who had hitherto bade defiance to the whole power of the Porte. Nothing could be more fatal to the hopes of Greece than the elevation of Ali; his vicinity to the Morea enabled him at all times to pour in any number of these barbarous hordes to whom it had recently been given up; and in order to render such an operation still more easy, all the approaches and passes were occupied by Albanians devoted to his interests.

The cruel reign, character and crimes of the Pacha of Yanina are before the public; it is not perhaps generally known, that a monster whose vices and enormities throw those of Nero and Caligula into the shade, was destined to become the principal instrument for bringing about the great work of Hellenic regeneration. In order to feed his insatiable avarice, the predominant passion of Ali, he encouraged his subjects to travel, and form commercial establishments abroad; and being fully aware that the divan only waited an opportunity for accomplishing his destruction, it was a special part of his policy to crush the most powerful of his Mahometan vassals. The more effectually to counterbalance their influence, a

Greek party was formed, even a portion of his body guard was composed of Christians, and towards the close of his sanguinary career, these were the only troops on whom he placed any reliance.

If the persecutions which followed the fruitless efforts of 1769, in open defiance of a solemn treaty * and other causes seemed to destroy the

* The stipulations of this treaty, as set forth in Article XVII., and the mode in which they were violated, afford so good a specimen of the weight attached to the most solemn compacts by the infidels, that their insertion here, will furnish the best answer that could be given to those who have argued in favour of Turkish legitimacy.

"The empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte all the islands of the Archipelago which are under its dependance; and the Sublime Porte, on its part, promises, 1st. To observe SACREDLY, with respect to the inhabitants of these islands, the conditions stipulated in the first article, concerning a general amnesty and eternal oblivion of all crimes whatever, committed or suspected, to the prejudice of the Sublime Porte. 2dly. That neither the Christian religion, nor its churches, shall be exposed to the smallest oppression; and that no hindrance shall be put to their construction or reparation; nor shall those who officiate in them be oppressed or insulted. 3rdly. That no payment shall be exacted from these islands of the annual taxes to which they were subjected, viz. since the time which they have been under the dependance of the Russian empire; and also, in consideration of the great losses they have suffered during the war, for a period of two years to come, to count from the day of their restoration to the Sublime Porte. 4thly. To permit those families which would quit their country and establish themselves elsewhere, to depart freely with their goods; and to the end that those families may put their affairs in order, the term of one year is granted to them for this free emigration, counting from the day of exchanging the present treaty."

prospect of emancipation, they did not diminish the anxiety to break fetters which time only tended to render more insupportable; under existing circumstances, it was wisely considered by the Greeks, that the best mode of approximating towards the great object of their wishes, was to cultivate trade and acquire knowledge. The events of the French revolution which put the whole of Europe into motion, were, therefore, highly favourable to the people of Greece, by greatly increasing their commercial relations, and bringing them into frequent contact with the more civilized nations of the west. The beneficial effects of this communication were soon evinced in a variety of ways: a new spirit of inquiry was awakened; education made a rapid progress among all classes; numerous schools were founded at various points of the Continent and the Archipelago, in which able professors instructed the youth in modern science and the literature of their ancestors. The enthusiasm manifested by all classes of the Greek people, to improve since the above period, has been a just source of admiration to travellers, while it proves them to be worthy of that freedom for which they are now struggling:—never did any people betray a greater ardor in the pursuit of knowledge than did the Greeks of thirty years ago, and never were its benign effects more happily illustrated than in the wonderful change which has taken place

among them within that short period. It is a fact worthy of record, that not more than half a century has elapsed, since there was but one possessor of a map to be found amongst the Fanariot Greeks, who, from their residence in the capital, and admission to the highest political employments, might have been considered much more enlightened than the rest of their countrymen. Yet, before the recent explosion, there was scarcely an individual in this class, who had not experienced the benefit of a liberal education, while many were distinguished for their varied and extensive erudition: of the large libraries they had collected, it is sufficent to mention that of Spathar Manos, so well known to the literary world, and long the free resort of travellers at Constantinople. Even the young ladies of the Fanar joined the study of Homer and Thucydides to that of modern languages and music.

The foregoing facts so honourable to the Greek character, will be corroborated by all those visitors to the Turkish capital, who have frequented the societies formed among the more distinguished Greek families resident at Therapia and Koronchesme. There have been numerous examples both at Constantinople, and in other places, of youths denying themselves the necessaries of life, that they might be able to attend the schools. It did not therefore require much discernment to foresee, that this intellectual revolution would, at no

very distant day, be followed up by one of another kind, which the Greeks themselves, and those who had any knowledge of their character, confidently anticipated; but who could have imagined they would enter the lists single-handed, much less maintain the contest, while rather opposed than assisted by the Christian powers?

Whether it arose from the well known maxim so strongly exemplified in the fatality which has marked the fall of more enlightened states, their natural sloth and presumption, or the disdain in which they hold all literary acquirements, unconnected with their own dogmas, the Turks alone were blind to the coming danger. Although there was no relaxation in their usual harsh and contumelious treatment of the rajahs, yet it is worthy of remark that the Ottoman government opposed no impediment to the progress of knowledge; appearing to view without jealousy crowds of its subjects flocking to the universities of France, Germany, and Italy, whence they returned to propagate more liberal notions in politics and government amongst their enslaved countrymen. Instances of violence towards the private seminaries were, however, by no means unfrequent. Among many that might be cited, the following is strongly illustrative of the general system of government adopted towards the Greeks. The Turkish commandant of Dara, a small village in the Morea, passing before the school while the

pupils were busily engaged in taking their lessons, caused the *didascalos*, or master, to be dragged out from amidst them, and bastinadoed: this act was done at a time when it would have been dangerous even to complain of such treatment. By a singular coincidence, this petty tyrant was soon after a prisoner in the hands of the insurgents at Calavrita.

The most flourishing and celebrated of the Grecian academies, was that of Scio, attended by several hundred students, and enriched with a copious library, chemical apparatus, astronomical instruments, and all other requisites for such an establishment, purchased by voluntary contributions from the merchants of this once opulent and populous island. The college of Yanina, at which the learned Psallidis presided, those of Athens, Bukarest, Aivali, and Cydonia, also deserve to be mentioned. But these and several minor foundations have all been swept away by the political tempest.

Under circumstances like the above, when knowledge and public spirit were making rapid advances among the Greeks, the continued exactions and oppressions of their barbarous rulers, could not prevent a people naturally industrious and enterprising, from taking advantage of their maritime position, and the favourable occasion presented by the new state of Europe, for extending their commerce, acquiring a partial share of opulence, and

above all, laying the foundation of a naval power; without which, they well knew every attempt to throw off the Mussulman yoke, must have proved vain and abortive.

Among the numerous islands of the Egean, arise several barren rocks, some of which are however gifted by nature with small and commodious havens. Of this number, are Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, the two first close to the Eastern shore of the Peloponnesus, and the latter not far from Scio, on the Asiatic coast. Tyranny and Want had driven some families, whose origin, like that of nearly all the peasants, who inhabit proper Greece, was Albanian, to take refuge on these desolate crags, where they built villages, and sought a precarious existence by fishing. They subsequently applied themselves to a circumscribed coasting trade, and as fortune smiled on these first efforts, their commerce extended, until they were at length enabled to purchase an exemption from the presence of Turkish officers and magistrates, together with the right of governing themselves and regulating their internal police. Two of the conditions attached to these valuable immunities, enjoined that they should not only pay tribute, but furnish a yearly quota of seamen to the imperial fleet. These privileges were not however new, as some more fertile islands, such as Tino and Syra, whose population are chiefly com-

posed of Catholics, had enjoyed similar exemptions ever since the expulsion of the Venetians.

Thus unshackled, and left to follow the impulse of their own active minds; stimulated, moreover, by the sterility of a soil incapable of producing any means of existence, the inhabitants of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, soon became the most expert and hardy sailors of Europe. The number and size of their vessels were gradually augmented, and during the revolutionary war, scarcely any other than Greek ships were employed in conveying the harvests of Southern Russia and Asia Minor, to the ports of France, Italy, and Spain, within the Mediterranean. During these voyages, when a rigorous system of blockade existed on the coasts frequented by the Greek vessels, it was impossible to avoid frequent collision with the ships and vessels of the Belligerent powers, and they were still more frequently exposed to be attacked by the Barbary pirates, against whose rapacity the Ottoman flag afforded no protection: it became therefore necessary to arm their ships, and as every individual of the crew had a share in the cargo, their defence was always desperate and often successful. Thus it was, that the Greek seamen were inured to every species of danger peculiar to a naval life, and that their commercial was so fitted as to become, by an easy transition, also a military marine.

In the meantime, this spirit of enterprise was amply rewarded: wealth flowed in apace, marble palaces crowned the naked rocks which had before only witnessed fishing huts; all the conveniences, and many of the luxuries of Europe were imported; these towns assumed an air of comfort and even elegance hitherto unknown; and this appearance, as well as the robust forms, frank deportment, bold spirit, and turbulent gaiety of the people, presented a lively imitation of the petty republics of ancient Greece. In so prosperous a condition, these islanders had little to desire, and had they consulted only their own interests, it is not likely they would have risked so many advantages by taking up arms. But they keenly felt the national degradation, and the wretched state of their less fortunate countrymen; though generally unlettered and too much occupied to attend to speculative doctrines, they could appreciate the difference between slavery and freedom; nor is it improbable, that the more enlightened inhabitants were captivated by the prospect of political regeneration which must follow the entire independence of Greece.

CHAPTER II.

Causes of revolt in Bosnia and Servia.—Origin of the Inhabitants.—Their Character.—Servians become Subjects of the Porte.—They revolt.—Czerni George; is Successes.—Distracted State of the Turkish Government.—Efforts to Suppress the Insurrection.—Servians stimulated by Russian Agents.—They are abandoned and left to their Fate.—Arrival of Chourshid Pacha and Cruelties that followed.—Second Insurrection and Treaty with the Porte.—Sultan Mahmoud.—Treaty of Bukarest.—Morousi.—Diplomatic Disputes.—Congress of Vienna.—Hetæristrs.—Count Capodistrias.—Czerni George and Galati.—Milosh.—Alarms of the Porte.—Caradja.—Attrocious Assassination.—Alexander Suzzo.—Prince Callimachi.

Having stated some of those facts which rendered the present struggle sooner or later inevitable in the Morea and Archipelago, it is now time to glance at the northern frontier, and describe the elements of discord and revolt, which could not fail to lead to similar consequences in that section of the Ottoman Empire.

In order more clearly to explain the causes which led to the numerous insurrections which took place at the commencement of the present

century in Bosnia and Servia, it may not be irrelevant to go back to that period of the middle ages, when several of the more fierce Sclavonian tribes, descending from the wilds of Silesia, Poland, and Russia, settled along the banks of the Danube and occupied the Illyrian Province; where, under the appellation of Croats, Bulgarians, Servians and Bosniacks, they have since undergone various changes of fortune.

Governed at first, by native princes, after carrying on many long and obstinate contests with the Greeks and Kings of Hungary, they were finally merged in the Austrian and Turkish Empires. But little disposed to mingle with any other race they have preserved the peculiar language and character, as well as the features of their ancestors. They are in general men of great strength and tall stature, hardy, laborious and intrepid: not very susceptible of quick impressions, but when once roused, vindictive and relentless: to these qualities, may be added excessive ignorance and superstition, also a strong predilection for plunder. On the east, the Bulgarians who inhabit an extensive and fertile territory between the Danube, Mount Hemus and the Black Sea, were first conquered by the Sultans, and have ever since remained subject to them:—these people are, from their situation, exposed to the continual passage of Turkish armies, and are consequently pillaged and oppressed without mercy. The Bos-

niacs on the West have with a few exceptions, apostatised to the Mahometan faith; and while they are considered as the best soldiers of the Empire, they are also distinguished for their furious bigotry and animosity to Christians. The Servians placed between the two last named tribes, in the mountainous province of Upper Mosia, have not been so easily held in subjection. During the long protracted struggle between the Austrians and Turks for the possession of Hungary, they vigorously supported the former, and furnished them with numerous bodies of light troops, styled Rascians by the Germans. After having frequently changed masters, Servia was at length definitively ceded to the Porte by the treaty of Belgrade, concluded in 1739; a part of the nation has however migrated to the Northern bank of the Danube and Save, and is now settled in Sclavonia and the Bannat of Temiswar. Of those who remained, little was heard for a long time, until about the year 1800, when the violence exercised by the Turkish garrisons, produced a general insurrection. This was headed by the famous Czerni George, who had, in his youth, been a serjeant in the Austrian service, and afterwards the leader of a banditti. Though endowed with great energy and courage, this chief was a complete barbarian, cruel and despotic to the last degree, and so ignorant that he could neither read nor write. Amongst other enormities attributed to

him, he is said to have perpetrated the murder of his own father, and to have ordered one of his brothers to be hanged. It was, however, under his command, that the Servians were led to a succession of victories. Having blocked up Belgrade, the capital, some Albanians delivered one of the gates to him, on which he entered the city sword in hand, and there, as at every other place, massacred all the Turks who fell into his hands.

Nothing could be in a greater state of disorder than the affairs of the Porte at this period: the war with France was scarcely terminated, while the efforts which had been made to reduce Passavend Oglou, the refractory Pacha of Widin, ended in defeat and disgrace. At home, a general disaffection was excited among the Janissaries, by the innovations which Sultan Selim wished to introduce into the military system, and fresh troubles were daily breaking out in Roumelia. But a revolt of its Christian subjects was too dangerous an example to be left unpunished, and accordingly the Divan strained every nerve to suppress the insurrection in Servia. Their endeavours to effect this object were actively seconded by the Province of Bosnia; and the banks of the Drin, which separates that country from Servia, became the theatre of many sanguinary combats. But the insurgents encouraged by the promises of Russian agents, and privately

assisted with money by Ipsilanti, Hospodar of Wallachia, maintained their ground; taking care to retire to the mountains when pressed by an overwhelming force, and as soon as the winter forced the enemy to fall back, sallying forth again, to carry fire and sword over the adjacent districts, the line of their frontier being marked by desolated fields, and towns laid in ashes.

In 1807, Russia commenced open hostilities against the Porte, and though the Servian war was still vigorously prosecuted, it could only be regarded as an episode during the five preceding years.

Czerni George had allowed General Rudojinikin to reside at Belgrade as accredited agent to the senate of Servia, and even suffered some battalions of Russian troops to be quartered in the neighbouring country, but he nevertheless, betrayed a constant jealousy of foreign interference, neither wishing to civilize his subjects, nor introduce European tactics among them. While the treaty of Bukarest was negociating in 1812, the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh wished to insert a stipulation in favour of their Servian allies, but several difficulties were opposed to the project. The Turks proposed to place Servia on the same footing as Moldavia and Wallachia, and to send Greek princes there; but to this arrangement the Servians positively objected. Menaced with the French invasion, the Russians

were eager to close the negociations on almost any terms; a peace was accordingly patched up, and as at Kainardgi and other places, the insurgents were left to their fate.

The result of this abandonment might be easily anticipated. When no longer enabled to hope for any aid from without, dissensions arose among the Servians themselves: these were attributed no less to the arbitrary conduct of Czerni George, than to the intrigues of the Russian agents, whose plan had changed with circumstances, and who are said to have become disgusted by the intractable policy of the chief, so lately the ally of their sovereign. Caradja, the new Hospodar of Wallachia, also fomented these jealousies, having sent numerous emissaries into Servia for this purpose. Matters were in this state, when early in the summer of 1813, a powerful Turkish army consisting of nearly a hundred thousand men, and commanded by Chourshid Pacha, entered the province on all sides. Exhausted by their previous efforts, there was scarcely any resistance made to the enemy. Belgrade was abandoned, Czerni George retired into Russia, and had an establishment assigned to him at Kiev, while many thousands of the inhabitants sought refuge on the Austrian territory. As might be expected, Chourshid Pacha used his victory like all those hitherto gained over Christians. In addition to the ordinary

massacres which followed the entrance of his army, he induced numbers to return by issuing a false amnesty, and then caused them to be executed. The tranquillity thus restored to Servia by this ferocious chief, has been aptly compared to the quiet of the tomb. The re-occupation of Servia was preceded and followed by the reduction of the fortresses of Widin and Orsova, whose governors had also been in a state of rebellion.

It is an old axiom in politics, that a people who have once tasted the sweets of liberty, will not again quietly submit to the yoke. Scarcely had the dominion of the Turks been restored, than the Servians flew to arms a second time, and obtained some advantages over the Pacha of Belgrade and Bosnia: worn out, however, by the troubles which had so often disturbed the tranquility it was beginning to enjoy, the Porte sent a Greek Bishop to negociate with the insurgents. The result was a treaty, which stipulated that the people should henceforth be governed by a native prince, their choice fell on Milosh, brother-in-law to Czerni George; that they should pay a yearly tribute of 6,000 purses about £100,000; that the Turkish garrisons of the fortresses of the Danube, were not to exceed a certain number, and that the prince was to maintain some national troops for the purpose of internal police. Nothing could be more calculated to betray the real weakness and decrepi-

tude of the Porte, than these concessions to the inhabitants of a single province, whose only means of resistance or defence, were derived from their love of freedom and natural bravery.

While these scenes were passing, no event of any importance had occurred in the Southern provinces. The Greeks eagerly watched the progress of the Russian and Servian armies, determined to rise as soon as their promised deliverers were sufficiently advanced. But the auspicious moment did not arrive, so that matters were destined to remain in their usual state of lethargic repose for sometime longer.

During the period that elapsed from 1815 to 1820, the affairs of the Ottoman government seemed to wear a comparatively prosperous aspect. The reigning sultan, Mahmoud, gave proofs of a vigorous character: at peace with all his neighbours, he allayed the mutinous spirit of the Janissaries, and broke the power of the great Asiatic vassals: some revolts in the Eastern divisions of the Empire were also promptly suppressed. Mecca was rescued from the Wechabites, while the imperial Firmans had greater weight, and excited more respect than heretofore. It was, however, under this seeming tranquillity, that all the elements of insurrection were actively fermenting, and those projects formed, which have produced the present conflagration.

Notwithstanding the frequent desertion of the Greeks by Russia, their confidence in that power was not entirely destroyed, and the unsettled state in which the political relations between the courts of St. Petersburgh and Constantinople were left by the treaty of Bukarest, greatly tended to keep their hopes alive. The French invasion obliged the former to depart from the severity of the conditions at first insisted upon, but which, under other circumstances, its successes would have justified: and so urgent was the necessity for rendering the troops that still remained on the Danube, disposable, that it would have probably sacrificed all the conquests gained during the war, to attain this object. On the other hand, it was the policy of Turkey to encourage delay, as the best means of obtaining more advantageous conditions, and it was generally thought, that in coming to a hasty conclusion of the negociations, the plenipotentiaries of the Porte had been swayed by personal motives. One of them, Morousi, chief dragoman, was destined in his own opinion, and that of the public, to the principality of Wallachia, and therefore naturally felt anxious to remove the obstacles which stood between him and the expected dignity. Experience ought to have taught him the little reliance to be placed on such hopes. Instead of the anticipated reward, his head and that of his brother, who exercised the same functions in the capital,

paid for their precipitation: and the Reis Effendi, Ghalib, narrowly escaped a similar fate. The sultan, prompted by the representations of French agents, considered himself betrayed, and manifested some repugnance to ratify the treaty: and even when this was done, the Turks seemed by no means anxious to fulfil the stipulations relative to Russian commerce, while they completely broke through that article, by which it was agreed no new imposts should be levied in Moldavia or Walachia for two years after the ratification. One condition, to which both parties attached the utmost importance, related to the retrocession of some fortresses near the river Phasis in Cholcos, and the value of which, was not estimated so much by their real strength, as by their position on the confines of the two empires. On the other hand, they were considered as the bulwarks of its Asiatic provinces by the Porte, while Russia could not evacuate them without giving up the most convenient method of sending supplies by the Black Sea, to her new acquisitions in Persia: thus restricting her to a dangerous and difficult communication through the defiles of Mount Caucasas. These forts are besides, of great use in bridling the wild tribes of mountaineers, who occupy the lands between the Euxine and the Caspian. As the Ottoman ministers made their cession a *sine qua non* to any arrangement, the Muscovites were forced to yield: but no sooner had the successful

result of the campaign of 1812, removed all apprehension of a renewal of hostilities in the North, than some infractions of the treaty committed by the Turks, furnished them with a plausible pretext for eluding the execution of the above article. Thence began an interminable negociation, kept pending by the obstinacy of one party, and the policy of the other; but it is well known, that the cabinet of St. Petersburgh has always contrived matters in such a way, as to leave a subject of discussion open with the Divan.

It was from these sources of mutual jealousy and dissatisfaction, as also the quartering of a Russian army in Volhynia and Padolia, that those endless rumours of a new war sprung, which obtained some degree of credit, even in the diplomatic circles of Europe, while they were not only greedily believed, but sedulously propagated by the Greeks, who now began to conspire almost openly against their Ottoman oppressors. They entertained sanguine hopes that the Congress of Vienna would take some decisive steps in behalf of Greece, and the circumstance of their countryman Capodistrias standing so high in the Russian ministry, and in favour with the Autocrat, confirmed these expectations. Though that Congress like all those which have followed, disappointed the hopes of Greece, as well as of Europe, separating without even a single expres-

sion of sympathy for the Greeks, this did not induce the generous spirits who had conceived the plan of Hellenic regeneration, to abandon either their hopes or the project for carrying the design into effect.*

It was about this period that the celebrated association of the Hetæria commenced, and whose founder is unknown to the members themselves, as they are individually bound by an oath, not to disclose the name of the person by whom they were initiated.† The real object of this society,

* There is no doubt but the attention of several of the ministers who were present at the congress of Vienna, in 1816, was called to the claims of the Greek people But what could be expected from men who had acted such a part towards Genoa, Venice, Lombardy, and Ragusa?

The only effect produced by these appeals in favour of Greece, was an association for extending the benefits of education among the Greek youth. The funds collected for this purpose were very limited, but having been applied to the objects of the society, the progress of those who had been selected to pursue their studies in Italy and other countries, proved how much might have been effected, by following up the plan of the institution. It is worthy of remark, that this was the first instance of any direct sympathy being manifested for Greece by the statesmen of Europe.

† It has been confidently asserted that the original idea of forming secret societies in Greece, is due to the empress Catherine; at all events, there is no doubt of her agents having promoted their formation, as affording the best means of successfully resisting the Turks.

Riga justly styled the Tyrteus of Modern Greece, is known to have formed one of an association of seven individuals, who travelled all over the country previous to the intended attack of Russia,

the emancipation of Greece, was slightly veiled under the semblance of distributing books, and

in 1792, in order to prepare the minds of the people for a new effort in favour of emancipation.

The services of Riga both as a patriot, scholar, and poet, are still the theme of admiration among all classes of the Greeks, while his fate is a source of poignant regret. Born in Thessaly about the year 1760, Riga was sent to finish his education in Italy, and having subsequently made the Tour of Europe, he returned to Greece, where his whole time was given up to forming that spirit which was one day destined to effect the regeneration of his country. In addition to his odes and songs, which are to be heard in every part of the confederation, Riga had commenced translations of Barthelemy's admirable work, Marmontel's Tales, and such other productions, as were best calculated to enlighten the nation. He was also the first person who published a map of Greece, with a nomenclature in the vernacular tongue, for the use of the natives.

The fact of Riga's having been seized on the Austrian territory by Turkish emissaries, dragged to Belgrade and beheaded, with the evident connivance of the imperial government, will ever be an indelible stain on the cabinet of Vienna.

With respect to the Hetærists; although this association has, no doubt, greatly contributed to bringing about the present contest, it is well known that the imprudence shewn by many of its members, as well as the too frequent misapplication of the funds collected, had brought it into considerable disrepute even before the revolution broke out. It should be added, that when first formed, the women of Greece took an active part in gaining proselytes, nor was it unusual for ladies to be even at the head of the Hetæries, or branch societies.

Though Raffanel has laboured to give a very ludicrous derivation to this word Hetæria, it is scarcely necessary to mention, that it is derived from Εταιρία, Society.

diffusing the means of education amongst the people. Its head quarters were established at St. Petersburgh. Nearly all the Greeks residing in Europe hastened to join the association, and extensive ramifications were formed throughout the Turkish provinces, with which an active correspondence was carried on by numerous agents employed for that purpose. Men of considerable note in their own country, were seen repairing to St. Petersburgh from Greece, under pretext of commercial speculations, or of collecting charitable donations for Greek families held in bondage by Ali Pacha; on their return, however, some of them confidentially avowed that the real purpose of their journey, was to obtain through the influence of Count Capodistrias, the immediate assistance of a Russian army, or at least a promise of future support, whenever a general revolt should break out among the Christian subjects of the sultan. To these applications the minister replied in terms that were rather evasive than discouraging: he indeed gave them to understand that, in the present situation of Europe, Russia could not openly do any thing in favour of Greece; but it is said the count generally accompanied this declaration, with a present of money in the name of the emperor to defray their travelling expenses, and he never failed to display a lively interest in all that related to the affairs of his countrymen.

In the meanwhile, the public attention of Europe was kept alive by the warlike rumours already alluded to; a sort of vague expectation prevailed at Bukarest and Yassy, that the principalities were soon to be occupied by foreign troops. Among the prime movers of this conspiracy, were Czerni George, the exiled chief of Servia, who still resided at Kiev, and Count Galati, a native of Corfu, related to the Russian Secretary of State. These two personages, seeing no immediate prospect of obtaining foreign aid, determined in 1817, to commence the revolution, trusting to their own resources for its success. The plan of operations concerted by them did not differ materially from that adopted in 1821. Czerni George was to appear suddenly in Servia, put himself at the head of his former subjects, and drawing the attention of the Turks to that side of the Empire, thereby afford Galati, Colocotroni, and others, an opportunity of organizing the insurrection in the Southern parts of Greece. In furtherance of this scheme, the Servian chief set out in disguise, and arrived in the vicinity of Semindria; but having discovered himself and his designs to his former friend and relative Milosh, on whose co-operation he had calculated, the latter caused him to be treacherously murdered, and sent his head to the Pacha of Belgrade, by whom it was transmitted to Constantinople. In Europe, it was generally supposed that Czerni George had

returned to Servia for the purpose of digging up a treasure, which he had formerly concealed, and it is not unlikely that this version of the affair was invented by his confederates, who became apprehensive, lest the Porte might obtain some insight into their plans, though the perfidy of Milosh. The Russian government, in order to remove all suspicion from itself, published a species of manifesto, censuring the conduct of Czerni George in leaving Kiev without permission, and declaring that he had forfeited the protection of the Emperor. It should, however, be remarked, that this declaration did not appear until it was known that the Servian had ceased to exist. * The death of

* The following account of the Servian chief and the patronage and protection afforded to him by the Russian cabinet, is extracted from the narrative of a diplomatic agent long resident at Bukarest, and whose intimate acquaintance with the subject, cannot be doubted. "Czerni George the Servian chief, who acquired great celebrity during the late war between Russia and Turkey, had, in consequence of his country's submission to the Turks, retired into Russia, where he was living a quiet life with the rank of a Russian Lieutenant-General, decorated with the order of St. Andrew, and enjoying a very liberal pension from the Court of St. Petersburgh. No man appeared to the concertors of the plot, more fit for so difficult and important an undertaking as that of raising the standard of revolt against the Turks. Overtures were made to him, and an understanding took place between the parties. It was settled that Czerni George, after sounding and finding favourable the then dispositions of the Servians, should suddenly appear among them, call them up to arms, seize upon the fortified places occupied by a few unsuspecting Turks, and place the

Czerni George occasioned the whole project to be adjourned. Galati, who had watched the progress of events on the frontier, repaired to Bukarest

Province in such a menacing attitude as was likely to engross the attention of the Turkish government and attract its principal forces. The Servians, being a warlike and spirited people, are able with forty thousand men to set the Turks at defiance for a long time, and it was intended that, when these were seriously engaged with the former, the Greeks in all the Provinces where they were numerous should rise, surround the Turkish forces on all sides, embarrass the government, and compel it to divide its means; thus every desirable and possible facility would have been given to the execution and success of a plan, the ultimate aim of which was the total expulsion from Europe of the Turks, and the establishment of a Greek Empire, over which a member of the imperial Russian family was to have been called to reign."

After describing the meeting concerted between Milosh and Czerni George, and the perfidious conduct of the former, which ended by his plunging a dagger into the heart of his relative, and sending his head to be exposed on the gates of the Seraglio, as that of a traitor and rebel, the memoir adds—"on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, the Court of St. Petersburgh, consistently with its own dignity, publicly disavowed the conduct of Czerni George, disclaiming any knowledge of his intention to quit the Russian territory, and expressing its entire disapprobation of his having done so!"

When informed that the write for the above is evidently a partisan of Russia, and that he subsequently asserts in the most positive terms, that the Cabinet of St. Petersburg had nothing whatever to do with the movement of Ipsilanti, it will be for the reader to say whether this extract does not bear internal evidence that Czerni George did not quit his retreat in Russia without previously communicating his intention to those from whom he held his rank and honors in that country.

where he lived retired and unmolested, being in his capacity of corfiote, considered as a British subject. He died some time after the failure of his coadjutor, when the object of his mission fell into other hands.

Although Milosh and the whole Servian people were tired of the miseries attendant on their late efforts to be free, and wished to live in peace as well as remain on good terms with the Turks, yet, it was evident to attentive observers, that the measures pursued by the Porte, must ere long lead to a fresh rupture. The good faith of the Ottomans, so highly vaunted by some of their Christian panegyrists and apologists, has ever been a most palpable mockery, while the whole course of their history proves, that they have not scrupled to break the most solemn engagements, whenever caprice or interest prompted them to do so;—even the partial independence of Servia was to the Sultan and Divan, a source of such rankling disquietude, that they were determined to leave nothing untried for its removal. To this end, no time was lost in making the requisite preparations. The fortresses on the Danube were repaired with all possible diligence, and received ample supplies of ammunition and provisions; while the stipulations of 1815, limiting the extent of their garrisons, were either eluded or openly violated; detachments of troops were continually pouring in on pretence of relieving their comrades, but none

were seen to return. It was at length thought expedient to get rid of Milosh, and the usual firman was immediately despatched to the Pacha of Belgrade, who invited him and the other chiefs of the province to a conference. But the wary Servian having obtained private information of the fate intended for him, avoided the snare. Anxious to ward off the impending danger without proceeding to extremities, he sent deputies to Constantinople, and also began to prepare for his defence, when at this crisis of his fortunes, the Greek insurrection broke out, and gave so much occupation to the Turks, that they no longer thought of Milosh or his treasons.

The new Hospodar of Walachia, Caradja, who though timid and crafty, certainly possessed considerable ability in the art of governing, had always conducted himself like a vassal, blindly devoted to the interests of the Porte, and ready to pay implicit obedience to every wish of the Sultan. His intrigues mainly contributed to the ruin of Czerni George and the submission to the Pacha of Widin, who surrendered on the faith of a simulated capitulation, and a formal promise that he should be suffered to pass the remainder of his days in retirement; instead of which he was assassinated on his way to Constantinople. Another atrocious murder—and one that exhibits the character of the reigning Sultan in a most odious light, was perpetrated in Walachia not

long after. It is well known that Mahmoud owed his life to the vigour and intrepidity of Mustapha Bairactar, and the Capitan Pacha Seid Ali, who forced the Seraglio, obliging his predecessor to descend from the throne:—after the dreadful revolution of November the 14th, 1808, and the death of the Bairactar, Seid Ali fled to Russia and led a secluded life at Odessa. It was from one of those incomprehensible causes which so frequently stimulate the Mahometan despots, that Mahmoud thirsted after the blood of him who had led to his elevation. In order to effect his sanguinary purpose, Seid Ali was offered one of the first employments in the Empire, as the price of his return. Unsuspicious of treachery, the Pacha set out, and was warmly received wherever he passed, until on approaching Bukarest, a part of Caradja's body guard, which had been sent out under pretence of welcoming his arrival, attacked and cut him to pieces. The head of Seid Ali was in a few days after displayed on the gate of the Seraglio.

For these services, Caradja received several marks of imperial favour: indeed the sole object of his administration seemed to be that of amassing wealth by every species of extortion. No person suspected him of conspiring against the Porte, or doubted that he would on the expiration of his government, measure back his steps to Constantinople. It might, however, be inferred from his

subsequent conduct and the two following circumstances, that he was no stranger to the plots in agitation. Though warned by Prince Callimachi of Moldavia of the character and designs of Galati, he allowed him to remain at Bukarest unmolested, and he even held many private interviews with a native of Yanina named Poliopulo, who paid frequent visits to Russia. This individual passed as a literary character, and was by some people regarded as a visionary; he was however an enthusiast in the cause of Grecian emancipation—while his activity, zeal and talents, were entirely devoted to the service of the Hetæristæ.

Nothing calculated to implicate Caradja transpired at this period, and the less suspicion attached to him, since his own life and government had been exposed to some risk, from a conspiracy formed by a few desperate adventurers, Servians and others, who having probably a slight knowledge of what was going forward, wished to commence operations without delay, but were discovered and punished for their temerity. This event occurred in 1815. The Hospodar did not however think it prudent to await his recall, but suddenly quitted Bukarest in October, 1818, and sought refuge in the Austrian territory, giving out as the motive of his flight, that a Capijee Bashi was coming from the Sultan to demand his head. Caradja had already taken care to transmit his immense wealth to Europe, and repaired first to

Geneva, whence he removed to Italy where he still remains, without manifesting the smallest sympathy for his heroic and struggling countrymen.

On the departure of the prince, the Boyards or native nobility, tired of seeing their country a prey to the successive oppressions of men who had with scarcely any exception acted like Caradja, petitioned the Sultan to change the system of government, and vest all the authority in the Divan, an assembly composed of the principal officers and notables of the province. Though exasperated beyond measure at the flight of Caradja, the Sultan rejected their demand, and named a successor to their late ruler, in the person of Alexander Suzzo, an old man, who, as will soon be shown, was not long destined to enjoy his new dignity.

After the peace of Bukarest, Moldavia was governed for the unusual space of seven years, by Charles Callimachi, who had given ample proofs of his sincere attachment to the infidels, having been wounded and conveyed as a prisoner into Russia during the last war against the Porte. This prince enjoyed very high favour at the Seraglio, and receiving the important office of first Dragoman on his return to the capital, he was charged in that capacity, to carry on the long pending negotiations with Baron Strogonoff; for

these had not advanced a single step, and seemed farther than ever from being brought to a conclusion.

The vacant principality was conferred on Michael Suzzo, son-in-law to Caradja, a young man of accomplished manners, and insinuating address. Naturally ardent and ambitious, he readily listened to the suggestions of the Greek patriots, and warmly espoused their projects. These had now in fact, acquired a certain degree of consistence: a regular corps of emissaries was organized, and employed travelling in various directions, to prepare the minds of the people, and also to maintain a communication between the Hetærists in different parts of Europe.

Having endeavoured to trace the progress of knowledge and its concomitant, liberal ideas, among the Greek people, as well as the natural result of the new spirit by which they became animated, it next remains to be seen how the train was laid that led to the present explosion.

CHAPTER III.

Intended period of Revolt.—Rupture between Ali Pacha and the Porte.—Conduct of several Greek Chiefs.—Intrigues of Ali—His Treatment of the Souliotes.—Alexander Ipsilanti.—Insurrection in Wallachia and Moldavia.—Plot at Constantinople.—Sketch of the Principalities.—Their Resources and Inhabitants.—System of Government and Misery of the People.—The Boyards or Nobility.—Plan of Campaign and Arrangements of Ipsilanti.—Sentiments of the People.—Arnauts and Pandours.—Alexander Suzza.—Revolt of Theodore Vlademiresco.—Measures of the Divan.

In alluding to the state of Europe during the last thirty years, and that irresistible tendency to ameliorate their political institutions so general among the people of every country, it has been truly said, that instead of having the same influence on events as in ordinary times, men are now impelled onwards by causes, over which they have no control.

The patriotic society of the Hatæria had fixed on the year 1825, for carrying its great exterprise into execution, thus giving ample time to complete the arrangements demanded by such an undertaking. A variety of unforeseen circumstances, however, rendered it necessary to anticipate the

intended movement, driving the actors, as it were, headlong towards their design. Although the state of the long-pending negotiations between Russia and the Porte, which seemed to render war inevitable, not to mention the hostilities which had actually commenced on the Persian frontier, must have had a powerful influence on the patriots; yet, the first and most important of these events, was the rupture between the Porte and Ali Pacha, which took place openly at the commencement of 1820. The immediate consequences of this civil war, produced so marked a change in the posture of affairs, and threw so many chances into the hands of the Greeks, that, notwithstanding their want of resources and the very imperfect state of their preparations, they acted wisely in seizing the fairest opportunity that fortune seemed to offer. It was, in fact, owing to the terror inspired by the tyrant of Albania, that Epirus and Greece had been hitherto kept in awe; but by one of those vicissitudes which seem more peculiarly to mark the direct interference of the Divinity in human concerns, whatever remained to him of authority or influence, whether it regarded his terrific energy, profound cunning, and immense wealth, were all at once enlisted on the side of the Christians, as his last hopes of safety depended on their exertions and co-operation.

If lessons were wanting to the future tyrants of mankind, a most profitable one would be found in

last days of Ali Pacha. The moment that an attack appeared inevitable, he published proclamations exhorting the Greeks to arm in his defence; but a similar measure was resorted to by the generals of the Porte, and the merited detestation in which he was held manifested itself, not only in the total defection of his army and subjects, but the avowed instruments of his crimes, even to the members of his own family. Nearly all the Christian corps kept in his pay, together with their principal officers, Odyseus, Alexis Noutzas, Mantho, and several others passed over to the Turkish camp. The peasants of Mount Pindus embraced the same party, while his old and inveterate enemies, the Souliotes, were brought from the Ionian Islands to the continent, to act against their late inexorable persecutor. These dispositions were, however, soon altered: provoked by the daily excesses of the Ottoman hordes, the Greek villagers forgot the oppression of their former tyrant. Ismael Pacha, who commanded the Sultan's forces, did not fulfil his promises to the chiefs that had gone over, and eluded the demand of the Souliotes to be put in possession of their native rock, the express condition on which they had consented to serve.

Shut up in the citadel of Yanina, Ali received exact information of all that was passing; and with his usual dexterity, took advantage of the dissensions of his adversaries. What with the

skilful employment of money and crafty intrigue, the captains of several independent bands were brought back to the party of their late master. Although the expulsion of the Souliotes from Epirus had been one of the great objects of the tyrant's life, he did not, on the present occasion, hesitate to purchase their aid, by delivering up the strong fortresses of Souli, with the treasures and war-like stores they contained, to their natural masters; so that before the termination of the first campaign, the Souliotes, Mountaineers, and Klepthis, were actively occupied in harassing the flanks and rear of the Turks, and intercepting their communications.

While a Christian force was thus brought into the field, the flower of the Ottoman militia in Livadia and the Peloponnesus was drawn away to the camp before Yanina, thereby weakening the means of resistance in those countries. So many favourable circumstances combined, urged the friends of Grecian emancipation no longer to defer giving the signal of revolt. A subscription was opened among the Hetærists of Russia and other parts of Europe, to defray the first expences of the war, and a generalissimo was appointed to carry their measures into effect.

The name of Ipsilanti has been already mentioned. A prince of that family assumed the government of Walachia in 1802, and it was expressly stipulated between Russia and the Porte,

that full effect should be given to the treaty of Yassy, which provided that the Hospodars were to continue in their posts for seven years, unless changed by consent of the Russian cabinet. Yet was it in the face of this stipulation, that, influenced by the intrigues of the French ambassador and his agents at Constantinople, the Sultan recalled both Ipsilanti and Morousi, who governed in Moldavia, so early as 1805. Morousi obeyed the summons, but the former, who had more to apprehend on account of his connexion with Czerni George, went directly to St. Petersburgh, whence he soon returned with a Russian army. The emperor having, however, incorporated the two principalities with his own dominions, after the conference between Napoleon and himself at Erfurth, Ipsilanti retired with his court and family to Kiev, where he died, leaving a considerable fortune to his children. One of these, Alexander, embraced the military profession at an early age, and served during the campaigns of 1812, and the two following years, with considerable distinction. He lost his right hand at the battle of Culm, and though still under the age of thirty, he was a major-general in the Russian army, and aid-de-camp to the emperor at the commencement of the Greek struggle.

On Alexander Ipsilanti, therefore, as one of the bravest and noblest of his nation, the choice of the Hetærists naturally fell. Another Russian

general, Prince Cantacuzene, descended from an illustrious Greek family, although senior in rank, generously volunteered to serve under the generalissimo; and Michael Suzzo, still Hospodar of Moldavia, engaged on their arrival at Yassy to declare himself openly and co-operate with them. The plan of campaign traced out by the Hetærists, and the calculations on which they proceeded, were as follows:—No doubt could be entertained of the speedy reduction of the principalities; their possession would afford the means of organizing a considerable force, keeping up a communication with the rest of Europe, diverting the attention of the Turks, and also a fair chance of embroiling them with the great northern Potentate, to whom the patriots still confidently looked for assistance. A formidable conspiracy was set on foot at the same time, in the very capital itself, the explosion of which would, it was thought, shake the Ottoman empire to its foundations, and enable Ipsilanti to assume the offensive beyond the Danube, while a spirited proclamation should summon the whole of Greece to arms, from Ossa to Tonarus. It was fully expected that on the first news of the rising, the Servians, instead of remaining tranquil spectators of the contest, would unite their efforts to those of the Greeks. The plan was unquestionably well concerted, and had all the parts received their full execution, it would probably have been crowned with success.

Before entering into a detail of the difficulties and impediments which entirely frustrated the projects of the Hetærists at two points, it may be proper to give a slight sketch of the provinces destined to become the theatre of hostilities. A modern writer has well observed, that Walachia and Moldavia are, perhaps, at once the most fertile and most miserable countries of Europe: the former, in particular, possesses within itself incalculable resources. A vast level tract of alluvial soil, extending from the base of the Carpathian hills to the Danube, is equally adapted for pasture or tillage: the crops of wheat, maize and millet, are most luxuriant, and its cattle remarkable for their beauty. The breed of horses are naturally excellent though much neglected, and sheep so numerous, that 250,000 were annually exported to Constantinople, which indeed receives its principal supplies of provisions from these two provinces. Pigs, poultry, fruit, timber, wax, honey, cheese, butter, and wine, are not less plentiful. The forests abound with game; and the rivers and lakes, which intersect the country in all directions, with fish. Nature has, in short, done every thing for this prolific region, while man, on the contrary, seems to have used his utmost endeavours to render her bounty unavailing. Gold is washed down by the mountain torrents, and veins of that metal are known to exist in the Carpathian range. In Walachia, the salt-mines

yield a revenue of 600,000 Turkish piastres to the prince annually. The products of Moldavia are nearly the same, but it is less fertile, and by the last treaty with Russia, the finest portion of it beyond the Pruth, was ceded to that power.

It is a singular though well authenticated fact, that the inhabitants of the principalities bear evident marks of Roman descent, or at least of having sprung from a mixture of Dacians, with Italian colonies, planted there by the emperors. Their language is a corrupt dialect of Latin, nearly approaching to some of the provincial jargons of Italy, and mingled with some Greek and Sclavonic words. The dress of the peasants is the same as that of the Dacians represented on Trajan's column at Rome. In both respects, those of language and costume, these people wholly differ from all their neighbours. While under the government of their native Hospodars they were accounted brave and warlike, but every vestige of spirit has been long extinguished through the tyranny of those sent to rule over them by the Mussulmen despots: men whose reigns have not been so much stained by cruelty, as disgraced by a most unprincipled and unbridled system of extortion. Their own exactions and those of a greedy train of dependants, whom the Hospodars were in the habit of bringing from Constantinople, almost exceed belief, and they

are the more to be reprobated, since the labouring classes were the only victims. The landed proprietors paid nothing, and even shared the pillage, by holding various sinecure offices, which the prince had thought it expedient to create, in order to strengthen and increase his own influence. The fatal effects of such a state of things were but too plainly traced, in the poverty and misery of the people, and in the desolate appearance of extensive tracts of rich lands, lying waste and covered with brushwood. There was scarcely any symptoms of manufactures, commerce, or industry. Every where, except at Bukarest, Yassy, and Galatz, a dead and melancholy stillness prevailed. The nobles, who in general deserve no better title than that of effeminate barbarians, abandoning their estates, spent the whole of their time in the capital; seeming to have no other object in life, than to join in the scramble for places, and to indulge in listless indolence and gross sensuality. It is true, that since the Russian occupation, a little of their native rudeness had worn off: some foreign usages were introduced, and more attention paid to European languages; but with this superficial polish, the corruption of manners and morals had, if possible, rather increased than diminished.

In justice to the Moldavians, it should however

be observed, that their character is in several respects superior to that of their Walachian neighbours. The nobility have a greater influence in the government, while they possess more information and patriotism.

It may be reasonably inferred, that the Greeks were not likely to meet with much support from a people so long outraged by the insolence and cupidity of the Hospodars and their followers. The Boyards, cowardly and voluptuous, and so thoroughly habituated to slavery—satisfied with the existing state of things, only desirous of being free from care and danger, showed, with few exceptions, an utter aversion to the projects of the Hetærists. But among the simple and hardy peasants, a different feeling was excited. In their forlorn situation, every change appeared a blessing, and they could not be ignorant that the Porte was the original cause of all the oppressions under which they groaned, while the Greeks were merely its instruments. — However strong the hatred which they bore towards the latter may have been, their detestation of the Turks was still deeper. If called on by an European power, they would have most willingly risen against their Princes and Boyards, but they were ready to coalesce even with them in an enterprise for overthrowing the Mahometan dominion. The zeal they manifested in favour of Ipsilanti might have produced important results, had it

not been cooled by the menaces of foreign agents, and the misconduct of some leading men. It is also probable, that the recollections of his father's government, which had been honourably distinguished by mildness and justice, attached them to his family.

Previously to his crossing the frontier, prince Alexander had already engaged a portion of the military force belonging to the principalities in his interest. This force is partly composed of a provincial militia, called Pandours, who, on consideration of their service in the field, are exempted by an old law from paying any taxes. Under the native Hospodars, they enjoyed some reputation, but in latter times the princes, being more in want of money than soldiers, have violated their privileges, and in other respects depressed them as much as possible. There were in Walachia alone about 10,000 Pandours, but their spirit was broken, and their arms and equipments altogether despicable. Besides the above, there was another description of force, known by the appellation of Arnauts, or Albanians; but consisting in fact, of adventurers from every part of European Turkey, chiefly however from Servia and Bulgaria. These acted as guards to the prince, and were employed for the purposes of police. All the more considerable Boyards kept a certain number of Arnauts in their pay, a measure rendered necessary by the very insecure state of the roads, and

the swarms of robbers who infested the country, and whose bands were frequently recruited from these very Arnauts.

The Hetærists had negotiated with some of the chiefs, who engaged to have a body in readiness to act under Ipsilanti's orders. While he was making his final arrangements, and preparing to give the signal of revolt, the private and interested views of another individual, who does not appear to have had any connection with his project, had, by a strange coincidence, already anticipated his instructions, and raised the standard of revolt in Walachia.

The death of Alexander Suzzo, who expired suddenly at Bukarest in February 1821, was followed by universal confusion. The Divan, or assembly of Boyards, assumed the administration, but soon gave evident signs of weakness and embarrassment. In this crisis, an adventurer named Theodore Vladimiresco, formerly in the Russian service, thought the present a fit opportunity to press some claims on the Divan, against the treasury, for sums of money which he pretended to have disbursed in 1811, for the exigencies of the state: these claims, he was convinced, no Greek Hospodar would ever admit. In spite, however, of his intrigues and solicitations, which had gained over some Boyards to his interests, he was disappointed; for the Divan refused to take cognizance of the affair until the arrival of another prince.

Exasperated by this resolution, Vladimiresco immediately repaired to little Walachia, where he possessed some influence among the Arnauts: allured by the hopes of plunder, a certain number of these engaged to join in a political crusade against the nobility of Bukarest. Accordingly, Theodore appeared in the field at the head of three hundred men, well armed, and issued a manifesto declaring that all the miseries of Walachia proceeded from the apathy, corruption, and arrogance of the Boyards; that his sole object was to effect a reform in the government; and that this could only be done by expelling the local authorities, and laying the grievances of the people before the Porte. This address concluded by inviting all the discontented to unite themselves under his banner. At Bukarest, the enterprise was at first only treated with derision, the Spathar or military commandant, Brancovano, sent about two hundred and fifty Arnauts and Pandours, with strict orders to bring back the heads of the rebels, and apprehend their leader dead or alive. Instead, however, of executing their commission, these troops went over to Vladimiresco. Matters having now begun to assume a serious aspect, the Divan, after mature deliberation, resolved to apply to the Pachas of the Danube for assistance to suppress the revolt. But the Russian consul opposed himself to the introduction of Turkish troops, without the previous consent of his court, as being

contrary to existing treaties. Thus thwarted, and obliged to have recourse to a national force, the Boyards formed a corps of one thousand men, composed of Arnaut cavalry, Servians, Walachians, and others, giving the command to the Aga or chief of police, Nicholas Vacarisco; who, thus prepared, set out to subdue the insurgents. Scarcely, however, had the Aga advanced a day's march from Bukarest, when it was signified to him by the soldiers, that he need not take the trouble of proceeding any farther, as that step would be both useless and dangerous, he therefore returned to the city, followed only by two attendants.

Meetings of the Divan were now held daily, and the necessity of calling in the Turks was more strongly urged than ever, but, as before, this proposal was defeated by the interference of the Russian agent. Amidst these alarms, Vladimiresco was marching towards the city, and fears were entertained that the neighbouring pachas would of their own accord enter, and consequently devastate the country. In this state of things, some intelligence which arrived from the North, gave a last blow to the tottering government of the Divan.

CHAPTER IV.

Object of Vladimiresco's Revolt.—Alexander Ipsilanti crosses the Pruth.—Declaration of Prince Suzzo.—Proclamation to the People of Greece.—Tumults at Yassy and Galatz.—Confusion at Bukarest.—Arrival of Theodore and Ipsilanti.—Hopes of Support from Russia destroyed by the Autocrat's Manifesto.—General State of Affairs.—The SACRED BAND.—The Turks take the Field:—their appalling Atrocities.—Treason of Vladimiresco.—Retreat of the Hellenists on Tergovist.—Arrest and Execution of Theodore.—March to Rimnik.—Battle of DRAGACHAN.—Cowardice of Kamyia, &c.—Heroic Stand made by the SACRED BATTALION.—Arrest and Imprisonment of Ipsilanti, by the Austrian Cabinet.—Submission of the Principalities.—Intrepidity of Giorgaki and Anastasius.—Effects of the Campaign.—Remarks on the Cruel Treatment of Prince Alexander.

ALTHOUGH it is not improbable that Vladimiresco may have been secretly informed of the designs of the Hetærists, there is every reason to believe that he had no connexion whatever with the association, as neither the character, nor the military talents of this adventurer, were calculated to inspire confidence. It is therefore evident, that his only object in coming forward thus early, was merely to enforce his private claims on the Divan before a blow should be struck that must for ever set them at rest. The natural

consequence of the declaration he put forth, was to hasten the movements of Ipsilanti, who crossed the Pruth on the 6th of March, and entered Yassy at the head of two hundred followers, many of whom were Greeks who had served in the Russian army. As the minds of the Moldavians were by no means sufficiently prepared for this sudden appearance, symptoms of resistance were at first manifested, but these were immediately suppressed by Prince Suzzo, who declared publicly, that he fully participated in the measures of Ipsilanti, and thenceforth threw off his allegiance to the Porte. A few Turks found in the city, were seized and conveyed as prisoners to a convent, where, in the course of the ensuing day, they lost their lives in an attempt to force the guards. On the 7th, Prince Alexander published an energetic proclamation, addressed to his countrymen, calling upon them to shake off the Turkish yoke, to follow the Standard of the Cross, and join him in the great and glorious project of liberating Greece. This document also contained an assurance, that a great power was ready to punish the infidels for their frequent breaches of faith, cruelty and arrogance. The uniform of the Hetærists was entirely black, in sign of mourning for their afflicted country, and on their banners was painted a Phœnix rising from its ashes, this being the emblem of regeneration. A considerable degree of enthusiasm was excited in Moldavia;

some young Boyards offered both their personal services and fortunes, while recruits came in from every side. Two days before the arrival of the Prince at Yassy tumults had broken out at Galatz, where the Arnauts and populace rose, and attacked the Turkish crews of the merchant vessels laying in the Pruth, of whom numbers perished; a great part of the town was also laid in ashes during this conflict.

When the news of these occurrences reached Bukarest, nothing could exceed the terror and consternation that followed: all eyes were turned on Brancovano, the Spathar and most influential Boyard of the Province, for protection and counsel. More anxious however for his own safety than that of the Divan, it was discovered, one morning while anticipation was at its acme, that the commandant had absconded in the course of the night, taking the direction of Cronstadt in Transylvania, and accompanied by his family and most valuable effects. The example of Brancovano was followed by the Russian and Austrian Consuls, and ere many days elapsed, Bukarest almost resembled a desart. To heighten the confusion, some of Vladimiresco's bands threw themselves on the route of the fugitives, whom they pillaged and ill-treated without regard to age or sex; even the women did not escape insult, and amongst others two sisters named Golisko, distinguished for their rank and beauty, were exposed

to great indignity. As to the chief himself, he marched into the city, followed by a most motley and disorderly assemblage, amounting to some thousands of armed men, including Servians, Bulgarians, Pandours, and peasants. His first step was to take military possession of the capital. The head-quarters were established at the monastery of Cotrocheni, in the immediate vicinity, and a Bulgarian named Savo, who formerly stood behind the French Consul's carriage, was appointed commandant of the garrison.

Vladimiresco had not been many days at Bukarest before Prince Alexander arrived at the head of five hundred men, dragging with them some pieces of iron cannon, mounted on ship carriages. Both himself and Suzzo had already made overtures to Theodore for combining their plans and forces; but the latter being but little interested in the more extensive designs of the Hetærists, and desirous to make war on his own account, demurred at first, betraying no disposition to act; he was however at length prevailed on to accede to the proposal by Douka, his lieutenant, who exercised great influence over the irregular bands composing his forces, and had previously entered into all the views of Ipsilanti. In the arrangements which followed, it was understood that each of the two chiefs should command his own corps, independent of the other, but that they were to act in unison against the common enemy.

It was now that the Prince began to feel all the difficulties of his situation. He was indeed, master of the two Provinces, but so far from being able to advance, it plainly appeared that he had little chance of being allowed to maintain his position at Bukarest. To crown all, the most fatal blow to his hopes, came from a quarter whence he had expected support and even direct assistance. As so unequivocally insinuated in his proclamation, Ipsilanti had no doubt that the rising would have been followed by the declaration of Russia. The flattering reception experienced by the Hetærists in Moldavia, was chiefly owing to the prevalence of this opinion; for like the rest of Europe, the people deemed it altogether impossible, that Ipsilanti would have embarked in so perilous an enterprise, with the very slender means he possessed, unless backed by the assurance of foreign aid. But the illusion was soon dissipated, and it was while the Russian ambassador experienced daily insults in the Turkish capital, that the Emperor issued a manifesto, in which the Greek leader was treated as a rebel and incendiary, and his conduct formally disapproved.

This declaration, which to use an expression of the Greeks, assassinated their cause, fell like a thunder-bolt on the inhabitants of the principalities. From a short lived dream of hope, they suddenly awoke to a horrid sense of the impending danger: enthusiasm instantly became cool,

and those who before wavered, now loudly condemned the measures of the Hetærists. Amongst the patriots and their partisans, it excited mingled sentiments of rage and despair. The Russian consul, on quitting Bukarest, had left a secretary named Spiridoff, to proclaim the declaration of the Emperor in the most open and public manner. Spiridoff executed this hazardous and delicate commission with courage, but he was immediately afterwards forced to fly from the city, to escape being shot in the streets. Pagès, the French Consul, who had hitherto thought proper to remain, was also exposed to considerable danger; but Sava who had long acted as his arnaut, protected him on this occasion, and finally escorted him in person to the frontiers.

No sooner were the sentiments of the Autocrat known, than the authority of Prince Suzzo entirely ceased in Moldavia. He is said to have entertained the intention of erecting it into an independent principality, and retaining the title of Hospodar. But the Boyards now waited upon him, and represented the necessity of his quitting the province. Suzzo complied, giving up the reins of government in rather a spiritless manner, and retired with his family beyond the Pruth.

South of the Danube, the prospect was not more cheering. The plot for effecting a revolution at Constantinople was frustrated,* and the Ser-

* The object of this extensive and deep-laid plot, was to arm the Greeks, who formed a numerous portion of the working and

vians remained perfectly tranquil. A Greek emissary, named Aristi, whom the Hetærists had sent to rouse the people there, having been intercepted, he was instantly hung by the Turks. In this hopeless situation, obliged to pass from an offensive to a purely defensive system of operations, and menaced with an attack by superior forces, the state of his own army gave Ipsilanti still more uneasiness. Accustomed to regular warfare, he naturally wished to introduce discipline and tactics into the army, as well as to arm it on the European model, but these intentions were defeated by the envy and intrigues of his lieutenants, Douka, Manos, Scouffa, and others; while the soldiers, composed of different nations, eager only for plunder, and strangers to all subordination, were not less intractable than their chiefs. There was but a single corps on which dependence could be placed: this was a battalion of young Greeks, educated in Europe, and, for the most part, students or merchant's clerks, who

operative classes in the capital; to fire the Arsenal, and seize the person of the Sultan as he went to his devotions. Every thing was prepared, and the plan might have succeeded, had it not been for one of those insignificant causes that sometimes exercise such an influence on the most important events. A merchant, one of the principal conspirators, had some goods on hand, which he was unable to dispose of before the period fixed for the explosion. Unwilling to lose his merchandize, he found means to have the appointed day exchanged for another a little later; and in the interval, a discovery took place.

repaired to his standard from Russia and Germany. They were clothed alike in a regular uniform, and perfectly obedient. The zeal and patriotism of these young men, induced the prince to confer on them the appellation of the SACRED BAND, a distinction which their subsequent heroism proved to have been most justly merited. With such indifferent troops, never exceeding nine thousand men, even after the junction of Vladimiresco; without possessing a single fortified place, unprovided with field artillery, and having but a very scanty supply of ammunition, he was charged with the defence of an extensive region, consisting of level plains, extremely favorable to the operations of the Ottoman cavalry.

The Turks appeared in the field in the beginning of April, some trifling skirmishes of advanced posts, were followed by the capture of Galatz, which the Pacha of Ibrail assailed with a body of land forces, and a flotilla of gun boats. The Greek garrison, surprised and greatly inferior in number, made a brave but ineffectual resistance. A part was cut to pieces while the remainder were obliged to seek safety in flight. The Turks avenged the death of their countrymen who fell on the 4th of March, by completing the destruction of the town, and putting all the inhabitants of the adjacent districts, whom they could seize, to the sword, without distinction of age or sex.—In the meantime, Kara Mehamed, Seraskier of

Silistria, advanced on the northern bank of the Danube at the head of ten thousand men, and on the 10th entered Bukarest without firing a shot. Measures were immediately taken by the Seraskier in concert with some officers of the Austrian consulate, for preserving order in the city; but the open country was exposed to every species of violence: the Turkish soldiery carrying their barbarity so far, as to hang up numbers of little children by the feet on the trees along the public roads, and impaling such of the Hetærists as fell into their hands.* What with treachery, and those divisions which unhappily prevailed in the

* In addition to these terrific atrocities, several Monasteries in which the inhabitants took refuge, were entered, and every soul butchered. Some notion may be formed of the scenes which marked the path of the Turks, when it is added, that in one monastery alone, they destroyed three hundred women and children. Among these wretched victims, was the wife of Major Rhote, a Greek, formerly in the service of Russia, together with her seven children. The Jews are represented as having acted the part of spies to the infidels, and doing their utmost to discover the retreat of the Christian fugitives.

A person named Udricky, attached to the Austrian Consulate, is said to have been the principal cause of these calamities, by constantly assuring the peaceable inhabitants, they had nothing to apprehend, and that the Turks had no idea of entering Bukarest. Hundreds who might have easily escaped, were thus lulled into a fatal security, and perished.—No wonder that one who could act this most infamous part, should have sent emissaries into Servia to prevent the people from rising there, while he wrote letters to the Pachas of Silistria and Rustchuk, calling on them to advance with all haste, and crush the rebels.

Christian army, there were no hopes left of impeding these successes of the enemy.

Although Vlademiresco had consented to unite his forces and co-operate with Ipsilanti, still no cordiality existed between them. The motives of the Walachian chief were exclusively selfish, and, as he is said to have confessed in a conference with the prince, unconnected with the emancipation of Greece, he only wished to gain some personal advantage from the storm he had excited: besides he pretended to an entire equality, while his vanity was offended at Ipsilanti's assuming the supreme command and title of generalissimo. The Ottomans, whose favorite weapon is perfidy, availed themselves of these dispositions in Vlademiresco with considerable address, and he was soon gained over by a promise of being raised to the dignity of Hospodar, if he would only betray his associates. The result of this offer was, that Theodore kept aloof, and openly refused to second the prince, who was anxious to risk a battle for the defence of Bukarest. That city was, therefore, abandoned, and the retreat to Tergovist effected with precipitation and disorder. While at this place, Vlademiresco met the punishment due to his perfidy and crimes. The prince resolving to rid the army of a chief whose treachery was apparent, caused him to be arrested, and tried by a council of war; being condemned to death, the sentence was carried

into immediate execution.* All the troops who had served under Theodore, were then incorporated with those of Ipsilanti.

This act of vigour did not, however, stop the progress of disaffection or treason, desertions were frequent, while Douka, Sava, and most of the principal officers, continued secretly to negotiate and intrigue with the Turks. In order to bring his projects with those traitors to maturity, the Pacha remained quietly at Bukarest in a state of complete inactivity for nearly six weeks; during which period, the Pacha of Ibrail overran Moldavia, and occupied Yassy without the least opposition.

Had it not been for these obstacles, and the sudden departure of Cantacuzene,† with the alleged intention of checking the progress of Ibrail

* The traitor was arrested by the brave Giorgaki, who conveyed him to the head quarters at Tergovist, where he remained two days in prison before his fate was decided. It was proved to demonstration, that Vlademiresco had quitted Bukarest at the head of a large body of Pandours, fully intending to surprise Ipsilanti, with a view of cutting off his retreat towards Transylvania, and even attacking him openly, when the Turks should advance.

† It is to be feared, that some misunderstanding must have occurred between Ipsilanti and Cantacuzene. For instead of marching to the attack of the Pacha, he advanced to the Pruth, and divided his corps into small detachments, only retaining a few hundred men under Anastasius. On the approach of the Turks soon after, Cantacuzene and several of his officers are said to have crossed the river, leaving Anastasius to repel the enemy in the best way he could.

Pacha, the strong and commanding position of Tergovist, might have enabled Ipsilanti to make a formidable stand there. Convinced that he possessed no adequate means of defence at Tergovist, the prince determined to march on Rimnik, a small town on the Oltau, and close to the Transylvanian frontier. While proceeding to this place, he heard that a Turkish division was advancing on the left bank of the river, and therefore lost no time in preparing to attack the enemy. A council of war being held, it was decided that a battle should be risked. Pursuant to this determination, Ipsilanti crossed the Oltau on the 17th of June, and took up a position at the monastery of Dragachan, within a few miles of Rimnik. The Turks had by this time approached so near, that the two armies were in sight of each other on the morning of the 19th. In a second council of war, Karavia, one of the chiefs, strongly urged the necessity of an immediate attack, while Giorgaki suggested that it would be much better to defer it for another day, when the expected reinforcements would arrive. They could, in the meantime, amuse the Turks with some skirmishing, and post detachments in the adjacent woods to attack the enemy's rear, when the action became general: but the advice of Karavia unhappily prevailed.

Ipsilanti having made the necessary disposition of his troops, the attack commenced at ten o'clock

in the morning. A few rounds of grape shot from five small pieces flanked by the sacred battalion, was followed by a charge of the Turkish infantry who rushed forward with loud shouts, and were repulsed at the point of the bayonet. A second charge was repelled with equal intrepidity by the sacred band, and had the cavalry come up at this moment, the fate of the day was no longer doubtful. Cowardice and treason, were however at work. No sooner had the enemy's cavalry perceived the retreat of their infantry, than they advanced on both flanks of the sacred battalion, and had nearly surrounded it, when the infamous Karavia, who had been stationed on the left with the Arnaut cavalry, instead of advancing to their support, turned suddenly round and fled, throwing the corps of Nicolis Ipsilanti, brother to the prince, into a disorder which ended in their joining the fugitives. It was in vain that he attempted to rally his men. The effect of this cowardly act, was to strike a panic into nearly the whole of the troops,* nor could all the efforts of Alexander prevent them from re-crossing the Oltau; thus leaving the sacred band, as a halocaust to the enemy. Animated by the spirit

* Giorgaki was an honorable exception to the rest of the chiefs. Having maintained his position on the right, he waited an opportunity, and suddenly falling on a Turkish corps, killed great numbers, and dispersed the remainder; retaking two pieces of cannon, which he brought back to Rimnik.

which taught their ancestors to perish at Thermopoly, these youthful heroes preferred a glorious death to flight or dishonor. The result of a conflict sustained by a handful of young men totally unaccustomed to war, very badly armed, and exposed on an open plain to fifteen hundred cavalry, may be readily conceived. It ended in the destruction of nearly four hundred Greek youth, at once the flower and hope of their country, but a much greater number of the infidels covered the field of battle with their dead bodies. Tho heroism displayed on this occasion, will bear an advantageous comparison with the best days of Grecian history, and is by far the most brilliant trait of the contest. As an example of true patriotism, it has had a most salutary effect on the people of Greece: nor will the column which records the names of those who fell at Dragachan, be a sterile lesson for posterity.

Bereft of all farther hope, Ipsilanti bent his way towards Transylvania, having first issued an address, wherein he thanked those who had remained faithful to their oath, and paid a well merited tribute of praise to the manes of the sacred band, while the traitors, Karavia, Sava, Douka, Varlo, and Mano were denounced to the vengeance of the laws and the execration of Greece.

Proceeding to Trieste with the intention of joining his countrymen in the Morea, where the patriot banner was already displayed, a man-

date from the Austrian cabinet, ordered the arrest of Ipsilanti, who was forthwith conducted under a strong escort to the Castle of Mongatz, in Hungary, where he has been kept a prisoner ever since.

The entire submission of the Provinces followed the disaster at Dragachan. Two Arnaut chiefs, one of whom, Giorgaki, whose name has already appeared so honourably, determined neither to yield nor fly, threw themselves into a convent on the banks of the Pruth, where they held out with desperate valour till almost the whole of their companions were killed, and they at last fell themselves, covered with wounds, into the hands of the enemy. One of these heroes died of exhaustion on his way to Constantinople, and the other was beheaded at Pera.

The conduct of Anastasius was not less distinguished by the heroism and courage he displayed in opposing a large Turkish division, with the detachment left under his command by Cantacuzene. Having began to prepare entrenchments round the position he occupied near the Pruth, only a part of these were completed when he was attacked by the Turks, to the number of twelve thousand. Though his small corps scarcely exceeded five hundred men, Anastasius continued to defend himself for three days, during which the enemy made every effort to dislodge him. Nor was it until he saw half his soldiers lying dead,

the rest without a single round of ammunition, and himself wounded, that he could be induced to retreat. When this was determined on, Anastasius and his brave companions, plunged into the river and swam to the opposite bank, where they were received with open arms by the Russian out-posts, who had witnessed their heroism and intrepidity. It was ascertained that besides a great number of wounded, four thousand of the Turks were slain on this occasion.

Thus ended the short, though memorable campaign in Walachia and Moldavia: its failure may be ascribed as much to the total want of resources in money and munitions of war, as to the base treachery and selfish cabals of Ipsilanti's lieutenants, and to the pusillanimity and indiscipline of troops collected under every imaginable disadvantage. As a diversion, however, this attempt produced all the results that were expected from it, in drawing the attention and forces of the Turks to the North. Nor was this great object effected merely for the moment; the subsequent occupation of the principalities, together with those horrors, of which they became the theatre, gave rise to still more acrimonious discussions between Russia and the Porte. It was consequently thought expedient by the Sultan, to direct his principal armaments towards the fortresses of the Danube, and to keep his best troops in cantonments near that river. This circumstance con-

tributed, no less than the Persian war and siege of Yanina, to prevent an adequate force from being sent against the Greeks of the Morea, for a period of fifteen months. Were it otherwise, they would in all probability have been crushed, before sufficient time was afforded to acquire the strength necessary for making a successful resistance.

With respect to the origin of Ipsilanti's enterprise, it is still involved in considerable mystery. Whatever part the agents of the Russian cabinet may have had in stimulating this officer to come forward, no person who had watched the uniform policy of Russia, could feel the smallest surprise at the Emperor's disavowal of any participation in his proceedings. If he took the field without any other assurances of support, except what could be derived from four or five hundred followers, against whom an overwhelming force could at any time be sent, Ipsilanti must have added madness to folly, and there is nothing connected either with his public or private character, to justify such an imputation. On the cruelty and injustice of his arrest, by a power of which he was not the subject, and without even the shadow of any charge, there can be but one sentiment. It has been said, that his arrest is due to foreign influence, and that it is to please a foreign court, this Prince has been deprived of his personal liberty for nearly three years. If, as others assert, Ipsi-

lanti be the depository of certain state secrets, of which the disclosure would be attended with inconvenience to those concerned, his incarceration and subsequent detention can no longer be matter of surprise.

CHAPTER V.

Mode of quelling Revolt in Turkey.—Massacres at Constantinople, and in various other parts of the Empire.—Murder of the Patriarch Gregory.—Effects of these Atrocities.—Military Topography of Greece: its Configuration, Mountains, Plains, Rivers, Passes, and Strong Holds.—Difficulties encountered by an Invading Army.—Description of the Peloponnesus: its means of Defence.—Concluding Remarks.

No sooner had the news of the rising in Moldavia reached Constantinople, than the invariable mode of quelling revolt in Turkey was resorted to:—that of massacring all those who bore any affinity to the revolted, either by the ties of consanguinity or religion. It has even been confidently stated, that the total extermination of the Greek people was now resolved on by the Divan, and the conduct of the soldiery fully justifies the assertion.

While the Janissaries and those hordes which had been brought from Asia Minor to aid in carry-

ing on the anticipated war against Russia, were occupied in cutting down the Greeks of every age and sex, in the capital; orders were sent to the Provinces, enjoining the Pachas and governors instantly to disarm all the Greek population. The mode in which these mandates were carried into execution, will be best imagined, by looking to the succeeding massacres at Salonica, Adrianople, Smyrna, Aivali, Rhodes, Cyprus, Candia, and indeed, wherever any hopes of plunder were held out to the infidels. * The countless horrors perpetrated at Constantinople, whether by the sword or drowning, formed a fit prelude to the decapitation of Prince Morousi, one of the most enlightened and benevolent men possessed by modern Greece, and the subsequent murder of the Patriarch Gregory. Aggravated as this last named act was, by every species of barbarity which the mind can conceive, those who are at all acquainted with the veneration in which the head of their church is held by the Greeks, will cease to express the smallest surprise at the war of extermination which followed, while it is more than sufficient to account for those excesses, that have furnished such frequent weapons to the adversaries of the Greek cause †.

* The number of Greeks sacrificed during the first three months of the contest, is estimated at thirty thousand.

† Although the horrible excesses which followed the rising in the Principalities, began immediately after news arrived at Con-

However we may recoil from scenes whose accumulated horrors have scarcely an example in

stantinople, yet they did not reach their acme before the 19th of April, on which day, the whole of the Greek population that could be found, was put to the sword indiscriminately.

As the sole motive for sacrificing the Patriarch and clergy, arose from a notion that it would terrify the Greeks into submission, no wonder that the assassination should have been perpetrated under circumstances which could not fail to render them as public as possible. Nor is it possible to conceive any thing more appalling than the mode in which these executions were carried into effect.

It must be still fresh in public recollection, that it was after performing all the ceremonies usual on Easter Sunday, the most solemn festival of the Greek church, that the Patriarch was seized together with three Archbishops, and hung up at the very threshold of the temple. The sacrifice of all those who had ventured to attend the service, followed as a matter of course. Having remained exposed in this state for three days, the bodies were cut down and given to the Jews, who are said to have manifested a ferocious delight in treating that of the Patriarch with every species of indignity, until the final scene of throwing it into the Hellespont.

Though history is bound to record, yet surely posterity will not believe, that this most dreadful sacrilege and crying insult to the whole Christian world, was committed under the very eyes of several Christian ambassadors, almost without an expression of disapprobation, much less an adoption of the only course which a due respect for religion and humanity dictated on such an occasion. With regard to the Patriarch himself, whether considered in his capacity of head of the Greek church, or as a man of the most exemplary virtue and unaffected piety, it would perhaps be impossible to name any victim that has fallen since the introduction of Christianity, more entitled to the honors of martyrdom. How melancholy to reflect, that it is only by such sacrifices, mankind have hitherto been able to acquire religious or political freedom.

Gregory was a native of Calavrita, and had made repeated efforts to

history, it cannot be disputed that they increased a spirit among the Greeks, of the South and West, which the reverses in Walachia and Moldavia, might have otherwise rendered less ardent. Thus it was, that neither the overthrow of the Hetærists beyond the Danube, nor failure of the alleged conspiracy at Constantinople prevented the war from being renewed in Proper Greece. But, involved as the Grecian nobility, clergy, merchants, and people were, in one common proscription, it may well be asked, what alternative they had between death and resistance?

Previously, however, to giving a detail of the events which followed those of Moldavia and Walachia, it may not be unimportant to offer such remarks on the military topography of Greece its communications and means of defence, as will enable the reader more exactly to appreciate the nature of those operations of which it has recently or may at any future period become the theatre.

European Turkey, without including the Principalities, represents an immense triangle, of which the Danube, the Save and the Unna, form the base and northern boundary. The whole of its sides are washed by the Euxine, Egean, and

retire to the place of his birth, but was always brought back by the Sultan to whom he had rendered very eminent services. He had passed his seventieth year when the murder was perpetrated, and no Patriarch had ever been held in higher estimation by the Greek people.

Adriatic seas, excepting a small portion to the north-west where the narrow strip of Dalmatia intervenes. It is every where intersected by long and lofty ranges of mountains, whose principal chains run parallel to the base from east to west, and are connected by transverse ridges stretching from north to south. The first great barrier is formed by the Thracian and Illyrian hills of Hæmus, Arbelius, Sconius, Scardus, and various others, which terminate on one side with the abrupt promontory of Emineh Boroun running far into the Black Sea, and thence extend in a waving line to the vicinity of the Adriatic, and are finally lost in the Carnian Alps, after separating the Danubian Provinces from the grand central division of Albania and Roumelia. From the middle of this chain, where the waters take their direction towards the white Drin, the Danube and the Axius, the Candavian mountains, and those of Pindus, which may be considered as a continuation of the former, stretch towards the south to the Ambracian gulph, forming a boundary between Albania on the west, and Thessaly and Macedon on the east. This ridge is crossed by another, parallel to the base of the triangle dividing the two last named provinces from each other, as also Upper Albania from Epirus. It comprises to the east of Pindus, the Camburnian hills, Olympus, Ossa and Pelion; and to the west, Stymphius or Zagira, which communicates

with the mountainous chain of the Chimæra and ends at Valona. Here begins the third portion, including the apex of the triangle, and the region which has hitherto been the principal theatre of war. Pindus at its extremity, and before touching the gulph of Corinth, has several branches; one of these, Othrys, traverses Southern Thessaly, sweeping round the head of the great bay of Demetrius or Volo; while parallel to it, and only separated by the narrow valley of the Sperchius, Æta shuts in the Eastern division of central Greece, stretching into the Malian gulph which it nearly surrounds, and the Straits of Eubœa. On the western shore, Acarnania and Etolia, inclosed by Mount Pindus and the Ionian Sea, present only an immense mass of broken and irregular mountains.

A slight inspection of the map is sufficient to show the great difficulties that every where oppose themselves to an invading army in Greece. In the more high and inland parts, the mountainous belt is so broad, lofty and impervious, and so continually interrupted by transverse chains, as to preclude the possibility of military operations. To afford a chance of success, it would be necessary to direct the attack either along the eastern or western coast. This last plan of campaign is the one hitherto adopted by the Turks. As, however, the tracts bordering on the Egean, afford much greater facilities to the march of an army,

more abundant means of subsistence, and also a close and easy communication with the sea, the invaders of Greece have always, and will most probably continue to make their principal efforts on that side. The open and level country of Macedonia, around Salonica, is the base from which such an attack must naturally proceed; and that large city, if well fortified, might serve as an excellent place of arms. The first serious obstacle that presents itself to troops advancing in this direction, is the Vardar or Axius, broad, deep, and flowing through extensive marshes, which render its passage difficult, and its banks very easy of defence. It is indeed under these circumstances, and these alone, that a river can be considered impassable during the summer season.

The Greeks of Olympus were aware of the above advantage, but they were never strong enough to avail themselves of it. After crossing the Axius, the road leads through the rich and luxuriant vale of Pierian, between the sea and the steep and woody hills forming the roots of Olympus: it is traversed by several rapid and impetuous torrents, with very ruggid banks, all of which are, however, fordable in the dry season. While advancing in this direction, the Turks are obliged to expose their flank and line of communication to the attacks of the mountaineers, for the space of two or three days march, while the deep stream of the Peneus lays in front, with its

long and narrow bridge, and only one solitary outlet through the tortuous and almost inaccessible defile of Tempe, where Olympus and Ossa, both inhabited by Christians, nearly touch each other. This pass is justly considered as much stronger and better situated for the defence of Greece, than that of Thermopoly; yet it is singular that the circumstance seems to have escaped the notice both of the ancients and moderns, as scarcely any use has ever been made of the above defile. What Herodotus says of there being other passes from Upper Macedonia, by which it may be turned, does not apply at the present moment, since the vallies west of Olympus are in a state of insurrection. Hitherto, however, the Ottoman troops, meeting with no serious opposition from the hostility of the mountaineers, have been enabled to commence their operations from the more advanced position of Larissa, which, though not fortified, contains a fierce and numerous Mahometan population. It is here therefore that the infidels have established their head quarters and principal place of arms. They are thus able to hold all the plains of Thessaly, which afford an abundant supply of forage and provisions. Neither could it be regarded as being wholly an enemy's country, the fertility of the soil having attracted many Mussulmen cultivators thither, and the want of cavalry preventing the Greeks from appearing in force on its level surface. La-

rissa is the point where the two attacks directed against eastern and western Greece necessarily separate, and every step made in advance, isolates them the more from each other; for the only practicable communication that exists between this double line, is in the rear, by the high road which, ascending towards the source of the Peneus, and traversing Pindus through the craggy and terrific defiles of Mezzova, descends upon Yanina. Here again the inhabitants of Agrapha, if supplied with arms and ammunition, might have long since cut off all intercourse between Epirus and the provinces to the east, an operation which has however been effected with complete success during the last campaign.

South of Larissa, the Pharsalian plain is bounded by the rugged chain of Othrys, whose narrow and difficult passes are commanded by the Turkish town of Thaumaci, an important position, overlooking the whole country. Beyond these, and above the valley of the Sperchius, is Zetouni the ancient Lamia, built at the foot of a rocky height, crowned by a citadel, whose only fortification is a lofty wall with loop holes for musketry; being however extremely difficult of access, it has hitherto resisted all the attempts of the Greeks. The Sperchius is a narrow but rather a deep stream running through low and marshy grounds, besides having a stone bridge, it is fordable in some places, and at particular periods of the year,

though not without danger. On the other side, Œta rises like a wall, and joining the Etolian mountains, presents a barrier from one sea to the other, steep and woody, but by no means impervious. According to Procopius, this range was pierced with several roads in the reign of the Emperor Justinian, two of these, fit for waggons, are still in existence. The celebrated pass of Thermopoly, and the old pathway which skirts the shore of the Malian gulph, and turning the point of Callidromus, leads through a more open country along the straits of Eubœa towards Talanta, the Opus of antiquity, has therefore lost much of its importance. One road goes directly from the bridge of the Sperchius to Salona, the ancient Amphyssa; whilst another runs from Mola to Livadia: the distance to each of these places is nearly equal, being about eighteen hours march. Both roads mount the crags of Œta, running through continual defiles, where every inch of ground may be disputed with advantage: indeed, the conformation of the mountains is singularly favourable to the defenders of Greece; bold, lofty, and precipitous, on the side of Thessaly, it slopes gently towards Phocis and the vale of Cephesus. The first, after traversing the district of the Œnians, crosses the Cephesus near its source, and winds between the gigantic mass of Parnassus and the rocks of Ozolian Locris. There is a pass near Salona, where a single horseman

finds considerable difficulty in making his way. The town itself, commanding the vallies of the Phistus, and not far from the Bay of Orissia, is at present a post of some consequence. The citadel of Salona, though dilapidated, is from its situation perfectly tenable, unless attacked by heavy artillery, which, from the nature of the approaches, is by no means likely to be brought against this place. Delphi is three hours march from Salona, and thence the road formerly called Scisto, runs along the south side of Parnassus, through a country full of natural defences, to the plains of Bœotia and the city of Livadia, where it joins the communication from Mola to the straits of Thermopoly. This last road crosses the eastern extremity of Œta, by a Roman causeway, and descending along the course of the Cephesus, is by far the most commodious of the two, as well as the shortest. Through the level and fertile plain of Bœotia, troops can be marched with great ease; nor is there any natural obstacle on the route from Livadia to Thebes, which passes between Helicon and the great marshes of Copras or Topolias. A long ridge on the east, separates these bogs from the sea.

Thebes is a central point in Eastern Greece, whence several roads over which artillery may be drawn, branch off in various directions, to Negropont, Athens, across Mount Parnes, and the Isthmus of Corinth, through the defiles of Cithe-

ron. Near Megara, the last-mentioned of these, joins the route that leads along the sea shore, and through Eleusis, from Athens to Corinth. The heights of Kirata and Macriplai, in front of Megara, afford the most advantageous positions, for preventing an enemy from penetrating into the Morea, and the Greeks have wisely occupied them during the present contest, instead of attempting to defend the narrow and most level part of the Isthmus.

However serious the obstacles may be, which oppose themselves to the progress of an invading army in this quarter, Etolia and Acarnania are defended by barriers still more formidable, and may be looked upon as nearly inaccessible, presenting only one continued fastness, and shut in at every point, either by the sea or chain of Pindus. These Provinces contain a brave and hardy population of Christians, inured to the use of arms. Epirus is the point where the Turks proceed in their operations against Acarnania and Etolia; while Arta and Prevesa, north of the Ambracian gulph, form their places of arms. Messolunghi, on the other hand, serves as a depôt and head quarters for the Greeks: it is indeed, very advantageously situated for these purposes, being protected on the land side by defiles, and towards the sea by shallows, which do not allow ships of war to approach. Masters of the little fortress of Vonizza, on the southern shore of the gulph, the

Ottomans sally forth from that point; but being soon lost in an infinity of intricate passes, are obliged to carry all their supplies with them, and exposed to attacks in flank and rear, the least check becomes fatal. Hitherto their efforts to penetrate this region have been most disastrous to the infidels.

The next object of interest to those who feel desirous of becoming acquainted with the military strength of Greece, is the renowned Peninsula of Peloponnesus; consisting of a stupendous assemblage of mountains girt round by a rich and prolific border of low land, producing corn, wine, oil, and fruit, in the greatest abundance. The breadth of this beautiful girdle, varies considerably. On the coast of Achaia, the hills often touch the sea, while in that of Laconia, they rise directly from its bosom. The shores of Elis are flat and open: Argos stands on the edge of an extensive plain, and several others of smaller dimensions, but also extremely fruitful, spread around Patrass, Gastouni, Pyrgos, and Calamata in Messinia. In the interior, the Alpheus and Ladon flow through delicious vallies, and in the very centre of the Morea, is seen the long and elevated plain of Tripolizza, walled in on every side by the loftiest summits of Arcadia and the Argolis.

The roads by which the different parts of the peninsula communicate with the capital, and each other, are of the worst description; difficult even

to the natives, who are so remarkable for their swiftness and agility, and altogether unfit for the operations of the Turkish army. It is true that cavalry and artillery can advance as far as Argos, and may act with facility in the immediate neighbourhood of that place; but beyond it, they are merely an incumbrance, light infantry being the only species of force, capable of traversing the sharp and rocky mountains, that every where present a secure retreat to the Greeks. Even on the high road from Corinth to Argos, there are some passes where a few determined men, might impede the march of an army, and the rest of the country is infinitely more impracticable. The plains on the western coast, are often marshy, or covered by thick forests. These numerous obstacles, which must ever render the invasion of Greece a most perilous enterprise, when its inhabitants are disposed to resist, are peculiarly formidable to the Turks, a people least of all others, adapted for mountain warfare. Another important point, is the impossibility of procuring supplies of forage and provisions, not to mention the difficulties of transporting them over such roads, and through so many defiles. The Greeks on the other hand, are enabled to destroy or remove every article of subsistence, and to drive the flocks to the hills, in a very short space of time. To these advantages may be in some degree ascribed the destruction of the large army, which penetrated into the Morea

in 1822, almost without any resistance. Stopped in its progress by the barrier of hills, famine achieved the rest, under the walls of Napoli di Romania and on the deserted plain of Argos. Here it should be remarked, that many of the inconveniences attending the Turks, might be obviated by a well conducted maritime co-operation, for which the geographical features of Greece, every where indented by deep and secure bays, offers the utmost facility. If properly manned and equipped, the Ottoman fleet is sufficiently strong and numerous, to keep up a communication with the land forces, but what with the incapacity of its commanders, their total ignorance of naval tactics, and the want of concert between them and the military chiefs on shore, the Greeks have nothing whatever to apprehend from the maritime efforts of the Turks.

On level ground, such as Bœotia and Thessaly, the infidels have a decided advantage from their cavalry and a field artillery which is not altogether despicable. Nor will the Greeks be able to advance, until the organization of the troops now in progress, be rendered somewhat complete. The many fortresses that border the coast, have hitherto had much less influence on the fate of the war, than might have been expected, or many people imagine. In the hands of Mussulmen, they become mere isolated points, whose garrisons, afraid to quit their ramparts, and re-

ceiving occasional succours by sea, are in fact, little better than prisoners. While the Greeks, besides a natural repugnance to shutting themselves up, have until very lately been unable to furnish a single place with the ammunition and provisions sufficient for its defence.

Such is the country which has thrown off the Mahometan yoke, and aims at its political and social regeneration. But as these facts, which were deemed necessary for the general information of those who may be desirous of becoming acquainted with the military events of the contest, have insensibly led into greater detail than were expected, the occurrences of the Morea, will more properly form the subject of another chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

Emissaries sent from Russia: their Success.—Rising at Sudena.—Measures taken by the Turks.—The Insurrection becomes general.—Combat at Lala. System of Retaliation.—Occurrence at Caritena.—Mainotes: their Origin. Petros Bey.—Character of the Modern Lacedemonians.—First Government of the Greeks.—Reinforcements sent by Chourshid Pacha.—Retreat to Valdezza.—Nikitas surnamed the Modern Aristides.—Colocotroni and Anagnostaras.—Defeat of the Infidels at Valdezza.—Plan of Operations.—Mode of Besieging.—The Ionian Auxiliaries.—Progress of Events in Phocis, Attica and Bœotia.—Advance of Omer Vrioni to the Relief of Athens.—The Defiles of Thermopoly are occupied by Odysseus.—Events in Macedonia. Naval triumph of the Greeks.

Previously to the rising in Moldavia, a certain number of the ecclesiastics and municipal magistrates called Primates, as also some chiefs among the Klepthis, had been entrusted with the secret plan laid down by the Hetærists, in the Morea and other points of the confederation. A new set of emissaries had, however, arisen, just before the insurrection: these were styled Apostles by their employer, but known to the lower classes under the denomination of philosophers, and were sent

from Russia to stir up the people. Enthusiastic in the highest degree, these men, whose appearance in this part of Greece coincided with the first rumours of Ipsilanti's movements, went about circulating reports that the Sultan had declared his resolution of transporting all the Greeks into Asia Minor, and establishing Turkish colonies drawn from that portion of the empire, in their place; that Prince Alexander was abetted and supported by Russia, and that he was marching at the head of a large force upon Constantinople. Some of them affected to imitate the language and gestures of the old Grecian orators, and a ludicrous scene occurred at Spezzia, where an Apostle who had proposed Demosthenes as his model, mounted a rostrum and very freely indulged in such reproaches as that great master of his art used not unfrequently to address his countrymen: but the Spezziots, less accustomed to such harangues, and by no means so gifted with patience as the Athenians, pulled the modern censor from his pedestal, and rewarded his frankness with a sound drubbing. On the whole, however, these emissaries produced a great effect; their reports were greedily swallowed by the people, while the Greeks, influenced by their characterestic ardor, neither lost a moment in deliberation, nor in waiting for more correct information of what was passing elsewhere, but rushed at once into the enterprise.

The first people who appeared in the field were the inhabitants of Sudena, a large village near Calavrita in the northern part of Arcadia. In order to conceal their design for a short time, they had recourse to a stratagem which was subsequently repeated in another place: by giving out that the object of their armed bands, was to plunder travellers, well knowing that the Turks are seldom in a hurry to suppress such excesses. But the Ottoman authorities had already taken the alarm, and were consulting at Tripolizza, on the best measures to be adopted. Among other plans, they resolved to invite the Greek Bishops and Primates to that city, under pretence of public business, and then to detain them as hostages: this measure was to be accompanied by another—that of carrying the order for disarming the people into effect.

The first design succeeded in part, as a few notables went to the capital and were thrown into the citadel on their arrival; the second could not, however, be carried into execution. The governor of Patrass, having summoned the christian inhabitants to deliver up their arms, met with a flat refusal: he then turned the cannon of the castle against the town, and easily made himself master of it, but the archbishop Germanos, descending from the mountains next day, at the head of nearly four thousand peasants, regained possession of the place, and obliged the Turks to

shut themselves up in the citadel. This event was followed by a general and simultaneous rising throughout every town and village of the Peninsula, while the people of Hydra, Spezzia and Ipsara also displayed the standard of independence, and prepared their numerous vessels to cruize against Turkish commerce, with the greatest expedition. In the beginning of these troubles, and before intelligence of passing events had reached Syria, Egypt and the most distant points of the empire, many rich prizes fell into their hands. But this source of wealth was of short duration, as when the rising was once known, no merchantman attempted to appear in the Mediterranean. Samos, and indeed most of the other islands in the Archipelago, followed the example of Hydra, and declared themselves free. The presence of Ottoman garrisons, which were reinforced from the coast of Asia Minor, alone contributed to keep Lesbos, Rhodes and Scio in subjection. Ten thousand Syrian troops were also transported into Cyprus, in time to render the plan of liberating it abortive. The horrors committed in this island, where ten thousand christians perished, without even an attempt to rise, form a fit counterpart to those of the capital.

The universal character of the revolt in the Peloponnesus, struck the infidels with such a panic, that after a few ineffectual efforts to suppress the insurrection within their immediate vicinity, they

saw no other alternative but that of throwing themselves into the nearest fortified places. As however, the towns inhabited wholly or in part, by Mahometans, were at a distance from each other, and separated by a numerous christian population, all were not able to effect their retreat. At Calavrita and Calamata, the Turkish Agas capitulated and delivered themselves up to the insurgents: while in Elis, the Mussulmen, resident at Gastouni and Lala, carried on a brisk warfare with the Greek inhabitants. Lala situated on the summit of a mountain, north of the Alpheus, was a colony of soldiers: governed by their own beys, and holding their lands under tenure of military service, the Laliots enjoyed a high reputation for valour throughout the adjacent districts, and in fact, gave the Greeks a great deal of trouble on this occasion; nor would it have been easy to dislodge them, were it not for the arrival of some Cephalonians and Zantiots, under Count Metaxa, who also brought a few pieces of field artillery. Having taken post on a neighbouring eminence, he waited the attack of the Laliots, who, reinforced by a part of the garrison of Patrass, marched out to engage him, when one of the best contested actions fought in Greece during the present contest ensued.

The Turks, who were far superior in numbers, made repeated charges with their cavalry upon the intrenchments of the Ionians: constantly

repulsed however, by a hot fire of grape and musketry, they were forced to retire with the loss of more than three hundred men; that of the Ionians, was also considerable, and Metaxa their leader received a severe wound. In consequence of this affair, the Laliots abandoned their town after setting it on fire, and retreated with their families to Patrass. The many skirmishes which occurred in various parts of the Morea, at this period, could not fail to cause the destruction of several towns and villages, for as the opposing parties were masters of them by turns, the Turks while in occupation of a place, would burn the houses of the Greeks, and when driven out by the latter, a similar retaliation took place. Owing to this system of warfare, it is not unusual for those who now travel through Greece, to visit many spots on which populous towns stood before the insurrection, but now razed to the ground, while there is scarcely one of those that remain, which has not been set on fire four or five different times.

Being unprovided with subsistence for the garrison, the Citadel of Patrass was at first on the point of falling into the hands of the Greeks, and if the blockade could have been maintained for a day or two longer, the garrison must have submitted, but it was relieved by Ussuf, Pacha of Negropont, who crossed over from Lepanto with a body of Roumelians, and scarcely meeting

with any resistance, compelled the Greeks to fly to the mountains of Calavrita. It was after this retreat, that Ussuf went to the relief of Lala, taking back its warlike population, which powerfully contributed to the defence of Patrass, enabling the Pacha to retain possession of that half ruined town for some months.

At Caritena, about one hundred Turks took refuge in an old Venetian castle, above the town, built on a rock which overhangs the Alpheus. As they had no means of existence in this isolated spot, two thousand men were detached from Tripolizza to bring them off, upon which, three thousand Greeks under Colocotroni, who had now arrived from the Ionian Islands, assembled to prevent their passing:—a striking proof was afforded on this occasion, of the innate dread with which Turkish violence and oppression had inspired the Christian vassals. Although they had collected for the purpose of fighting, yet, as the enemy approached, their spirits began to fail; this depression was followed by their withdrawing either singly or in small parties, until at length, Colocotroni, seeing himself almost alone, was forced to escape to the hills, stung with rage, and what was worse, exposed to the scoffs of the Ottomans, who were thus enabled to extricate their countrymen without molestation.

It was some time before the Greek peasants could accustom themselves to bear the glances of

26949

those tyrants in whose presence they had been wont to cringe with abject servility; but these impressions of terror gradually wore off, giving place to feelings of the utmost contempt. A more valiant race, inured to arms, also appeared in the field to aid the Christian cause. These were the Mainotes, the hardy mountaineers of Laconia, who, on the first symptoms of insurrection, hastened to the scene of action with alacrity. Various opinions have been entertained of the origin of this tribe. Though it is known that some Sclavonian colonies were planted in Laconia under the lower empire, there are other writers who expressly state that the inhabitants of Mistras did not form part of them, but are lineally descended from the ancient Greeks. Be this as it may, they have for many centuries maintained a species of wild independence. Pent up among the rugged and barren crags of Tagytus, they have sometimes been forced to pay tribute, but were in a state of permanent hostility against the Turks, and always engaged in domestic feuds or following their favorite pursuits of piracy. The Mainotes had been for some years comparatively tranquil, and they had even allowed the Porte to nominate a Bey from among the native nobility. It was a part of the latter's duty to collect the tribute, and he was also bound to furnish one hundred seamen for the service of the Sultan; when the insurrection took place, this quota was actually

employed on board the Ottoman fleet before Travesa, and commanded by one of the sons of Petros Bey, the reigning Prince of Mainas. As that chief had rendered himself popular among the people, they resolved to continue him in the office he held from the Porte; accordingly he published a proclamation, and advanced into the interior of the Peninsula, while detachments of Mainotes, in conjunction with some peasants of Laconia and Messinia, formed the blockade of Malvasia, Coron, and Modon.

The Mainotes are not less brave than skilful in the use of their arms, and on every occasion, gave examples of intrepidity, which the other troops of Greece hardly dared to imitate. Their character is however stained with many vices, of these the principal is, that propensity to robbery and plunder, in which they are but too apt to indulge, without caring much, whether the object of spoliation be a friend or foe. One day after the capture of Tripolizza three Cretans, men of some consideration, arrived at the quarters of Demetrius Ipsilanti, almost in a state of nudity, having been stripped on their way from Mistras, by a band of Mainotes who were returning home loaded with the spoils of the city. Such instances were by no means rare, and nothing but a still greater dread of the Turks, could have induced the Peloponnesian peasants to bear with their rapacity. The Mainotes were however far from

being cheap auxiliaries; for besides pillaging the country, and living at free quarters, some of them who were employed in guarding the Isthmus of Corinth, received from thirty to fifty turkish piastres a month; and no sooner had the moment of their stipulated service expired, than they abandoned the posts confided to their care; nor did they return until fresh remittances were sent. It cannot on the other hand be denied, that these troops mainly contributed to the success of the campaign. Before the middle of May, the whole Peloponnesus was in possession of the Greeks, except a few fortified points, and these furnished in general with a very scanty supply of ammunition and provisions.

The new government, composed of Archons and Bishops, was first established at Calamata, but afterwards transferred to the centre of the Province, when the Turks were shut up in the strong holds, and an Arcadian army had sat down before Tripolizza. The Greeks did not, however, as yet dare to approach the city, but remained perched upon the highest summit of Tricopha, a sharp and rocky ridge to the north, observing the place from a distance, and occasionally skirmishing with parties of the garrison.

In the meanwhile, the Seraskier Chourshid Pacha, though sufficiently occupied in keeping up the blockade before the Citadel of Yanina, into which Ali had retired; as well as in protecting

his communications from the Souliote bands, resolved, nevertheless, to send whatever troops he could spare into Greece. Agreeable to this design, the Pacha's Kiayah or Lieutenant, landed at Patràss, with nearly two thousand Albanian cavalry, and immediately marched to Tripolizza. Being unwilling to expose himself among the mountains that separate Achaia from Arcadia, he followed the coast of the Corinthian Gulph. On the approach of Kiayah Bey, the consternation of the Greeks became general. The blockade of the Acrocorinthus was raised, upon which the Turkish garrison took advantage of the respite thus afforded, to reap the harvest of the neighbouring districts then ripe, and carry it into the fortress. From Corinth, the infidel chief proceeded to Argos, passing through the intermediate defiles, without the least opposition, and putting every christian who fell into his hands to the sword. Argos was given to the flames, but a part of the armed inhabitants, having occupied a ruined castle, on the lofty rock above the town, he did not venture seriously to attack that point, and after exchanging some rounds of musketry with its defenders, went on towards Napoli di Romania; opened a communication with that place, and thence directed his steps to Tripolizza. The Greeks, who had by this time approached somewhat nearer, and encamped before the city, being afraid to risk an action, retreated to Valdezza, on

the road to Calamata, where, according to their favourite method, they entrenched themselves behind heaps of loose stones piled up for the occasion.

The Kiayah having assumed the chief command on entering Tripolizza, he began to make predatory excursions on every side, for the purpose of collecting supplies, and destroyed several christian villages. It was in one of these marauding parties, that Nicetas, or as he is called by the natives, Nikitas, the bravest and most disinterested of the Greek captains, acquired the high reputation for valour, which he has since preserved among his countrymen. Having halted in a small hamlet with only fifty soldiers, he was suddenly attacked by nearly three thousand Turks, and three pieces of cannon. Nikitas, undaunted by such fearful odds, took his measures so well, and kept up such a spirited fire, that, however strange it may appear, he repulsed the enemy with great loss. Ali Bey, second in command of the Turkish division, was killed by a musket ball in this affair.

At Valdezza, a difference of opinion arose among the Greek leaders; Colocotroni, Anagnostoras and the Bey of Maina, as to whether it would be more expedient to wait for the Ottoman army, in that position, or retire farther into the mountains; Colocotroni proposed the latter plan, but he yielded to the suggestions of Anagnostoras, who represented that their retreat would expose

the whole country to devestation. On the 6th of June, they were attacked by the Kiayah in person, at the head of all his disposeable force. He anticipated an easy victory, and on the night before quitting Tripolizza, military dances were executed in the streets, by his Albanians, who promised to exterminate the christian rebels. But the result was far different. The Ottoman cavalry, while on a plain, would no doubt have soon overwhelmed their antagonists; embarrassed and unable to act on narrow and rocky ground, were thrown into disorder by the fire of the Greek light infantry. The Mainotes, by a vigorous attack in flank, completed their defeat, and a total rout ensued. Two hundred infidels were slain, the remainder succeeded in re-entering the city, though in the utmost confusion, many of them having lost their arms and accoutrements. It is a singular fact, that this action, which may be said to have mainly decided the fate of the Peloponnesus, should have coincided so nearly with the discomfiture of Ipsilanti at Dragachan.*

As the Turks did not attempt to keep the field after this overthrow, it merely remained for the Greeks to watch the fortresses. The head-quar-

* This coincidence is not without a parallel. When the celebrated flying column under RIEGO, had been dispersed at Bienvenido, and that lamented chief imagined all his heroism had been ineffectual, the triumph of freedom was already achieved at Cadiz and Corunna.

ters of the Mainotes, and of the Arcadians under Colocotroni, were therefore once more established in front of Tripolizza; while Modon, Coron, and Malvasia, were invested on the land side by the peasants of Laconia and Messinia, and some parties of Mainotes. Two thousand Peleponnesians and a body of Ionians formed the siege of Navarin, while a more numerous corps of Achaians, reinforced by auxiliaries from Cephalonia and Zante, sat down before Patrass. Napoli di Romania was also blocked up by the militia of Argolis, and the Acrocorinthus by the Corinthians and Sycionians. The Hydriots, and Spezziots, cruised along the shore with some light vessels, and prevented any supplies from arriving by sea; and the heroic Bobolina of Spezzia, undertook to conduct the naval blockade of Napoli di Romania, with seven sail of armed ships, brigs, and schooners, her own property, and fitted out solely at her own expence.

It was truly fortunate for the cause of Grecian freedom, that a long peace had induced the infidels of the Morea to neglect provisioning their strong holds, and that the hurry and precipitation with which they took shelter behind their ramparts, allowed no opportunity of repairing that fault: for the Greeks, without artillery and so deficient in military science or discipline, had no chance of reducing them except by famine: their method of conducting these novel sieges, was as follows:

the main body took post upon heights at a considerable distance, generally beyond the reach of cannon shot, while some advanced parties, profited by any inequalities of ground to approach the walls, remaining with extraordinary patience, behind the shelter afforded by banks or stones, watching an occasion to fire at their enemies through the embrasures and loop-holes. Prompted by the hope of procuring a little forage and provisions, or more frequently from mere lassitude, the Mussulmen sometimes made a sortie, and drove back the outposts, upon which the main body would hasten to their support: after a distant exchange of musketry, the Turks thinking that they had given themselves sufficient exercise, retired within the walls and were often pursued by the Greeks. Neither party had any idea of acting in a body, but merely as sharp-shooters. In these skirmishes, the Mainotes and Ionians were always the boldest and most forward of the Christian troops. It is true that the latter by taking part in the war, exposed themselves to severe penalties, as well as confiscation of property, enacted by the Parliament of the Seven Islands; but the brave men whom a sentiment of patriotism and zeal for their religion, induced to come forward thus nobly, will have their reward in history, while those legislators who so easily lent their sanction to measures, dictated solely by prejudice and passion, have already incurred the galling ban

of public opinion. It did not unfrequently happen that a short truce was agreed upon by mutual consent; during these, groups of the two nations might be seen sitting on the grass, smoking, conversing, and even eating together: this intercourse continued till the armistice was declared to be at an end, when each party went back to their respective stations, and hostilities recommenced as fiercely as ever.

While these scenes were passing in the Peloponnesus, the insurrection continued to gain ground in the northern parts of Greece, though with less vigour, and fewer striking events. The Romeliots generally boasted that they were better soldiers than the natives of the Morea, but their conduct during the early part of the contest cannot certainly be cited as a proof of superiority. In Acarnania and Etolia, the revolution was effected without any difficulty, there being no Turkish troops in these provinces, except a few at Lepanto. In Phocis, Attica, and Bœotia, the peasants assembled in arms upon the mountains, but struck no blow worthy of being mentioned; the Athenians and Bœotians were indeed regarded as the worst troops in Greece.

About the time that the Kiayah Bey entered the Peloponnesus, another detachment of Chourshid Pacha's army advanced through the passes of Oeta, into Bœotia, burned the city of Livadia, and occupied Thebes. Omer Vrioni, an Albanian

chief of some reputation, who had the honor of defeating a party of British troops near Rosetta, in the ill-concerted expedition of 1807, marched towards Athens, with seven hundred horse. The town was in possession of the peasants of Attica, and the few Turks it contained shut up in the Acropolis, were in great distress for want of provisions; while, in order to accelerate its capture, the Hydriots had disembarked a body of islanders with some ship guns at the Piræus. But no sooner did they receive tidings of Omer's approach, than a general flight took place. The Hydriots sailing away, while the Athenians sought shelter either in the mountains or in the island of Salamis, where fifteen hundred of them found a refuge; thus imitating the conduct of their ancestors, though it must be confessed, under circumstances infinitely less honourable to themselves. Soon afterwards, however, Odysseus and some other Greek captains, who had been attached to the former army of Ali Pacha, came from Epirus, and occupying the defiles of Thermopoly, effectually prevented any more reinforcements from advancing in that direction.

In Macedonia, hostilities had already commenced, and the Christians of that Province, meeting at first with some success, pushed their incursions as far as the gates of Salonica, causing great alarm in that rich and populous city. But, instead of following any fixed plan, they roamed

about the country in separate bands, and for objects of little importance: having at length been discomfited in a few insignificant skirmishes, their courage began to fail them, the panic that ensued was also followed by the abandonment of sixty or seventy villages, whose inhabitants retired into the treble Peninsula of Cassandra, Torone, and Mount Athos. At the commencement of these tumults, the Greek inhabitants of Mount Pelion, in Thessaly, were excited to revolt, by the eloquent exhortations of Anthimos Gazi, a distinguished literary character long resident at Vienna. But this insurrection was soon suppressed by the Turks, and Anthimos obliged to conceal himself in the first instance, and finally quit the country.*

At sea the Greeks carried every thing before them, and for a long time rode undisputed masters of the Egean, keeping the Turkish ports and islands in a state of complete blockade: with the exception of merchant vessels however, the only prizes hitherto made, consisted of a corvette with a small compliment of men, surprized in the port of Milo, and also one or two brigs of war. But

* The persecutions and cruelties at Salonica were little inferior to those of Constantinople, and although the victims were not so numerous, yet many thousand Greeks, of every age and sex, perished under the Mussulman knife. It is worthy of remark, that the Jews, of whom there are considerable numbers in this part of Greece, were armed by the Turks, and joined heartily in all their excesses.

a far more glorious triumph was afforded them, by the first attempt the Ottomans made to regain possession of the sea, and re-establish the maritime communication between Constantinople, Smyrna, and Egypt, as its interruption caused much inconvenience to the inhabitants of the capital, who were thus deprived of their usual supplies of rice and fruits. In order to effect this purpose, two line-of-battle ships, and several smaller vessels, quitted the Hellespont towards the end of May, and proceeded as far as the island of Lesbos. The Greek squadron fell in with one of the two deckers, a seventy-four gun ship, which had separated from the others off the southern coast of the island. The following are a few particulars of the action, as related by Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral. Instead of keeping the open sea, and making use of his formidable artillery, the Turkish captain only thought of flight, but being unable to escape without fighting, he anchored his ship at the entrance of the gulph of Adrametum. On this, the Greeks immediately prepared fire ships to lay him on board: their first attempt failed, but the second completely succeeded. Two of these destructive masses being linked together, fell athwart the bows of the Ottoman, while the ignorant Mussulmen stood on deck with their muskets, to oppose what they imagined to be an attempt at boarding, deceived by several effigies the Greeks had dressed up in

different parts of the fire vessels. When once attacked, only a few minutes elapsed before the Turkish ship was enveloped in flames, the captain then cut his cables and allowed her to drift towards the shore, but long before reaching it she run a-ground. The crew now endeavoured to save themselves by swimming; but the victorious islanders pursued in their boats, and such were the perils which the Turks had to encounter, that out of a compliment of eight hundred men, scarcely a single individual was saved. As to the ship, she burned to the water's edge. On getting intelligence of this disaster, the rest of the infidel squadron fled with all possible speed to the Dardanelles.

CHAPTER VII.

DEMETRIUS IPSILANTI assumes the Command.—Cantacuzene.—Their Reception.—Condiotti.—Affendouli.—STATE of Parties in 1821.—HETÆRISTS and EPHORS: their respective Views.—Germanos.—Klepthis.—Character of the Ephors.—Qualities of the Hetærists: their Confidence in Russia.—Ipsilanti.—Cantacuzene.—Prince MAVROCORDATO.—Caradja.—Mavromichalis, Prince of Maina.—Kyriacouli.—Colocotroni: his Character and Views.—Anagnostaras of Leondari.—Plans of Ipsilanti.—Opposed by the Ephors.—Siege of Malvasia and Navarin: their Capture.—Excesses of the Patriots.—Tipaldo.—Resignation and recall of Prince Demetrius.

THE arrival of Demetrius Ipsilanti at Hydra gave a new impulse to the enthusiasm of the patriots: this young officer reached the island early in June from Trieste, having traversed the Austrian dominions in disguise, and thus evaded the fate of his brother. He bore a commission from Prince Alexander appointing him general in chief of all the forces in Greece, and was accompanied by a younger brother of prince Cantacuzene and some other Greeks belonging

to families settled in the North of Europe. The Hydriots received Ipsilanti with discharges of artillery and other demonstrations of joy. After remaining a few days in the island, in the course of which a proclamation was issued explaining the object of his coming, he made some changes in the local government, and proceeded to the Morea, where he assumed the command of the army before Tripolizza. The disastrous issue of his brother's expedition could not then be known, and it was generally supposed that Demetrius had brought large sums of money and a quantity of military stores; but this illusion soon vanished, for it was found he had not more than 200,000 Turkish piastres, most of which Petros Bey borrowed for the support of his followers, and two hundred stand of arms. As the melancholy termination of the northern campaign became known, the ardor exited by Ipsilanti's arrival began to cool, when the Ephors turned a deaf ear to all his propositions for organising the army and establishing a regular system of administration. They were equally insensible to the menaces of one of his companions, named Condiotti, formerly valet de chambre to Count Capodistrias, and who threatened them not only with the vengeance of Prince Alexander, but with that of the Autocrat himself. They had, however, already heard that one was a fugitive and prisoner, and that the other loudly disavowed their cause. Un-

able to realise his plans, Condiotti withdrew from the Morea, though not without a strong suspicion of being one of those who had embezzled part of the sums raised by subscription among the Hetærists. Another determined partizan of Russia, Affendouli, who constantly appeared in the uniform of that nation, went to Crete, and obtained the command of the independent forces there, but he was soon driven away as an impostor, and narrowly escaped with his life. Having alluded to the first symptoms of dissension between Ipsilanti and the Ephors, this is, perhaps, the most proper place to offer a few remarks on the state of parties in Greece at this period; for it is only by correct data on the actors, that many of those circumstances which have marked the progress of the contest can be explained.

The attempt to regenerate a people who have been long weighed down by tyranny, and exposed to the influence of a corrupt and demoralizing government, is a task of infinite difficulty, and must ever encounter obstacles almost insurmountable. On the first dawn of freedom in Modern Greece, it is to be lamented, that so much of the spirit of dissension coeval with the formation of the ancient republics, and aptly characterised as the inveterate malady of the Greek cities, by a writer of antiquity, should have survived the Lower Empire and Turkish despotism:—when a system of rule like that to which the Greek people

had been subjected by all their conquerors, and the abuses connected with their religious dogmas, are considered, who can wonder, if many of the chiefs who now came forward, seemed more anxious for the interests of his native village or city, than the general good of the confederacy. The want of concert, as well as that variety of detached operations which were pursued at different points may be attributed to the above causes. The nation was, besides, divided into two great parties; those of the Hetærists, and Ephors or Primates. It is also to be observed that there was scarcely a man in either party, who had been accustomed to the direction of a public administration or conducting national affairs on a grand scale. As soon as the Turkish magistrates had lost their power, all authority in civil matters, naturally fell into the hands of the Bishops and Primates, who had under the Ottoman yoke, been employed to collect imposts and arrange the minor details of domestic and municipal polity among the Christian communities: but these men, accustomed to every species of low intrigue, fraud and extortion, and to enrich themselves at the expence of the poorer classes, were neither able to quit the beaten track in which they had so long moved, nor get rid of their grovelling habits; much less raise themselves to the level of existing circumstances. The characters of such men were by no means calculated to inspire respect, while their influence

could only be maintained by caballing together and retaining bands of unprincipled satellites in their pay. One of the most conspicuous individuals in this class, was Germanos, Archbishop of Patrass, a vain, ambitious, selfish and intriguing churchman. The armed population was commanded by officers bearing the title of Capitani, a word of very vague signification; since some were at the head of two thousand men, while others were not followed by more than twenty or thirty. In the military councils, the greatest share of influence and authority was either assumed by or conferred on the leading Klepthis, who were the only persons capable of heading the troops, the inferior commanders being elected by the voluntary suffrage of the provincial militia, that served under them. Thus, each village had its petty chief, who was allowed to command while he made himself agreeable and no longer. It sometimes happened that these officers, though engaged in the same enterprise, acted quite independently of each other, but it more frequently occurred, that a number of them agreed to obey one chief of superior reputation. Nor did the best understanding always exist between the Captains and the Primates, although they were reciprocally dependent on each other; the first for receiving a regular supply of rations, which it was the business of the Ephors to collect and send to the army; the second, for having their decrees enforced and

measures carried into effect. The confusion arising from the jumble of civil and military organization, to which the country party adhered but too obstinately, may be easily conceived: brought up under the Turkish system, and participating in its abuses, they seemed to have no permanent rule of action, and took a singular pride in attempting to imitate the barbarous pomp displayed by the Mahometans of rank. But the views of the Hetærists were altogether different: educated in Europe, and more accustomed than their less favoured countrymen, to the usages of civilized life, they were anxious to introduce them into Greece: unfortunately, however, they consisted for the most part of young men, who had no experience of public business. Having but lately issued from colleges and counting houses, often carried away by passion and enthusiasm, they took too little pains to conceal the high opinion they entertained of their own powers, and their contempt for associates who had not enjoyed the same advantages. Their hopes were fixed upon Russia, and however strange it may appear, they would have been willing to govern regenerated Greece, under Russian protection. At the head of this latter party, was Demetrius Ipsilanti, whose name, whatever may have been the errors of the Hetærists, cannot be mentioned without feelings of esteem and respect. This young man, though not more than twenty-two years of age, had held the rank

of lieutenant-colonel in the Russian army, but without having found an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of his profession by active service in the field. His exterior is rather unfavorable, being of short stature, and nearly bald; and there is an expression of coldness in his manner, which is apt to repel strangers; but on a closer acquaintance, this reserve wears away, when his excellent qualities appear in their true colours. Intrepid, persevering, and totally indifferent to the allurements of pleasure, Ipsilanti has no thought, no wish but for the honor and happiness of Greece: and if he desired to be at the head of the government, it was only that he might be able to render her more essential service. Unlike many others he was scrupulous in the means he employed to gain even his most favourite ends, and disinterested in the extreme, amidst a system of pillage and peculation which would have followed a similar revolution in the most enlightened country of Europe. Although no man had deeper reasons to hate the Turks, yet he constantly interposed to save them from insult and ill treatment when vanquished, and by example as well as precept, endeavoured to check the excesses inseparable from such a war. If his efforts were not always crowned with success, there is not less credit due to the character and motives of Prince Demetrius. His greatest fault is perhaps, that of not possessing sufficient energy,

and being too mild for the circumstances in which he was placed, and the men with whom he had to act. The situation of the Prince was both difficult and delicate, surrounded by jarring interests and passions, an object of constant jealousy to the Primates, and frequently opposed in his attempts to correct prevailing defects.

Prince Cantacuzene, the colleague of Ipsilanti, though sprung from a Greek family, was in all respects a Russian: full of spirit and activity, he appeared to be gifted with a considerable share of military skill, but soon became tired of a service, in which the objects of a man's ambition could only be attained by sacrifices which few are willing to make. After the capture of Malvasia, where he commanded the besieging force, Cantacuzene refused to accept any employment, unless sufficient means were given him, with an assurance of support: and as the gratification of these wishes, were impracticable in the existing state of the contest, he quitted Greece altogether in October, and repaired to Italy, whence he has not since returned.

Early in August, Prince Mavrocordato and Caradja, the first a highly distinguished Fanariot, and the second a son of the fugitive Hospodar, arrived from Marseilles in a Greek vessel, loaded with military stores, which Mavrocordato had purchased there, and after visiting the camp before Patrass, disembarked their supplies at Messolunghi.

The talents and noble character of Mavrocordato, soon procured him great weight and authority among all classes, while Caradja was a mere cypher, and his name scarcely ever mentioned. With respect to the Bey of Maina, Mavromichalis, though as anxious to see his country free as most men, his period of personal activity had gone by, and he was also destitute of those powers of the mind, indispensible for those destined to take a prominent part in such a revolution. His brother, Kyriacouli, on whom the command of the Mainotes seemed principally to devolve, gave proofs of courage and enterprise: and his eldest son was a young man of very great promise, possessing a fascinating exterior, amiable manners, and full of patriotism: both found a glorious death in the summer of 1822: the first was killed on the coast of Epirus, and the second being surrounded near Carystus, in Eubæa, by a body of the enemy, far superior in number, after seeing all his companions slain by his side, chose rather to plunge a dagger into his heart, than fall alive into the hands of the infidels.

Of all those who have been called upon to aid the Greek cause, Colocotroni deserves most particular notice. This chief had never submitted to the Ottomans, but like his ancestors, had almost from his cradle carried on a petty warfare against them, spreading alarm throughout his native province, at the head of a band of faithful and

determined followers, making the most inaccessible mountains of Arcadia his abode, and plundering all who came in his way. No wonder if the character of such a man received a tinge from the wild habits of his life; hasty and violent in his temper; an Ajax in person; bold and daring in the field, where he seemed to court danger; greedy and rapacious of spoil, fertile in stratagem, it would have been almost impossible to find a more active or efficient partisan. Driven from the Morea by Veli Pacha, he first entered into the Russian, and subsequently the British service, and was appointed captain of guides in one of the Greek battalions raised in the Ionian Islands. But his military experience had given Colocotroni no relish for tactics or discipline; to neither of which did he appear to attach the smallest importance. When pressed on these points, he merely remarked, that if the Greeks were ignorant of the art of war, their enemies the Turks were equally so. Content to practice the lessons of early life, the first resource that presented itself to his mind in moments of danger, was a retreat to the mountains; these were looked upon as his castles and citadels, and once among them he deemed himself invincible. In politics, he appeared rather wavering and undecided. Colocotroni neither loved nor esteemed Ipsilanti, whom he accused of sloth and want of vigour: yet did he for a long time affect to give the Prince his countenance and

support. Some of the Ephors had, however, a certain degree of influence over him. In his heart, Colocotroni is probably a Russian, although it should be added, that he never showed himself well-disposed towards the Hetærists; on the other hand, it is not improbable but that he wished to perpetuate the reign of anarchy, in order to profit by it and rule the storm.

Anagnostaras of Leondari, had led the same kind of life as Colocotroni, to whom he was allied by a long friendship; had been captain of grenadiers in the same corps, and like him, enjoyed a green and vigorous old age: he was besides a good soldier, endowed both with prudence and discretion. The name of the brave and modest Nikitas has already appeared; few of the other captains of this period enjoyed or indeed seemed to deserve much reputation.

Ipsilanti had two important projects in view: one of these, was to establish a general and central government, for all Greece: the other, to put the army upon a regular footing, and assimilate it to the troops of Europe. Both the above designs met with numberless obstacles; the first would have destroyed the influence of many interested individuals, who were at the head of different states of the confederation, and the second was calculated to lessen the power of the military chiefs. The captains and ephors therefore joined in op-

posing them, and in other respects, created such difficulties as to render the situation of the Prince exceedingly irksome. In the meanwhile, two events occurred, which, though favourable to the cause of independence, tended by their consequences, to exasperate Ipsilanti still more.

The strong fortresses of Malvasia, and Navarin, surrendered to the patriots in August. The former situated on the east coast of Laconia, is a place very difficult to reduce, being built in a rock washed on every side by the Egean sea, and communicating with the continent only by a bridge. Defended in this quarter by a strong treble wall, it is inaccessible at every other point, containing within itself, sources of excellent water, and a small patch of cultivated land, sufficient to support a garrison of fifty or sixty men. Below this impregnable citadel, is a port and suburb, where most of the inhabitants reside. The Greeks had kept it closely blockaded both by sea and land, since the month of April; Cantacuzene arrived in the camp about the middle of July, and took the command; famine had already made dreadful havoc amongst the Mahometans, who after prolonging their existence by the most unnatural aliments, were at length reduced to feed on human flesh, eating their prisoners, and even their own children. Nor was this a solitary instance, as most of the strong holds in the Pelo-

ponnesus, presented similar examples. To such extremities will men go, in obedience to the great and irresistible law of self preservation.

But while the majority of the population was thus suffering, the governor shut up with two hundred soldiers in the citadel, enjoyed abundance, and gave himself no trouble about the fate of his countrymen in the lower town. These last, were disposed rather to famish, than trust to the, mercy of the peasants, and Mainotes, who were investing the place: but the arrival of Prince Cantacuzene having inspired them with some degree of confidence, they ventured to open a negociation. Full protection was stipulated for their lives, moveable property and the honor of their families; it was also agreed that they should be transported in Greek vessels to the coast of Anatolia. On the faith of these assurances, a part of the inhabitants got into the Castle by stratagem, seized and disarmed the governor and his troops, and on the 3rd of August opened the gates to the besiegers.

Prompted by those feelings of irritation and revenge, which have been so often betrayed under similar circumstances; and impressed with a notion that the garrison was not entitled to the benefits of a capitulation entered into with the inhabitants of the town, the Greek soldiery, strangers to discipline, fell on the former, of whom numbers perished. To the credit of Cantacu-

zene, it should be added that he displayed equal prudence and firmness on this occasion; interposing his authority with such effect, as to save a number of lives, and eventually succeeded in putting a stop to the excesses, though not without considerable risk from his own soldiers, who conceived they were only retaliating the countless murders previously committed by the infidels: considering the relative situation of the parties now opposed, and the nature of the war, it could hardly be expected, that the minor articles of the capitulation were very scrupulously observed. The Turks were, however, shipped off in three Ipsariot vessels, and landed on a small island close to the Asiatic coast, whence they reached the continent. Though the Greeks have been reproached for this act, they can scarcely be blamed for not entering an Ottoman port, well knowing that such a step would have been attended with certain death.

Navarin, which also surrendered soon after, was the theatre of another tragedy, to which none but wars between slaves and their task masters ever give rise. Well fortified, and possessing one of the finest harbours in Europe, this city is built in the immediate vicinity of the ancient Pylos; it was ably defended by the Turks, who made several vigorous sorties, but at last, every kind of sustenance being exhausted, after devouring even their slippers, they were forced to capitulate. Ipsilanti had sent one of the best and most dis-

tinguished of his friends, Tipaldo the Cephalonian, to conduct the siege. Tipaldo was a man of virtue and abilities, who, after practising as a physician in Bessarabia with great success, abandoned the rising prospect of wealth to take his part in the national war. He manifested great spirit at the head of some Ionians in the various actions which were fought under the walls, and it was his presence that chiefly induced the Turks to treat about a surrender; for such was their obstinate resolution, that they had placed barrels of gunpowder under their houses, with the intention of blowing up the town, when a longer resistance should become impossible: the same terms were granted here as at Malvasia. It was while the siege of both these places had been carrying on, that the news of the Patriarch's murder and that of the Greek clergy at Adrianople, together with the profanation of the Christian churches throughout the empire, spread through Greece: the fury of the troops, worked up to madness, was therefore vented on the garrison, of whom a considerable number were sacrificed. Tipaldo endeavoured in vain to arrest the heart rending spectacle, the infuriated soldiery answering his exhortation by citing some act of personal suffering or oppression, and directing his attention to the recent massacres of the capital and other places.

These disorders joined to the opposition he ex-

perienced in other respects, roused the indignation of Ipsilanti, who determined to withdraw until a clearer understanding could be established. He accordingly issued a proclamation in which he inveighed bitterly against the cruelties and indiscipline of the Peloponnesians, and giving up the command, proceeded to Leondari. The Primates and Captains being however alarmed at this step, sent a deputation to the place of his retreat, and persuaded him to resume his functions as generalissimo.

CHAPTER VIII.

Siege of Tripolizza :—Its Situation and Fortifications.—Garrison and Inhabitants.—Inadequate Means of Attack possessed by the Greeks.—Arrival of Prince Mavrocordato.—Mr. Gordon of Cairness joins the Christian Camp.—Plans of Ipsilanti.—Conduct of the Ephors.—Difficulties Opposed to a Regular Siege.—Batteries are Established.—Abortive Attempt at Mining.—Privations and Sufferings of the Besieged.—Views of the Primates and Captains.—Negotiations with the Albanian Troops.—Action of the 23rd September.—Ipsilanti Marches towards the Gulph of Lepanto.—The Command devolves on Mavromichis.—The Conferences are continued.—A Party of Greeks enter the Town.—The Assault becomes General.—Catastrophe which followed.—Concluding Remarks.

However essential the reduction of other points in the Peloponnesus may have been to the patriots, the eyes of all were naturally fixed on the fall of Tripolizza, as an object of paramount importance: the forces employed at Navarin and Malvasia, were therefore immediately ordered to coeperate in the siege of the capital.

Tripolizza, a town of modern origin, is built on the southern side of a long and elevated plain, sur-

rounded by bleak and rugged mountains, almost destitute of wood, and lays nearly half way between the ancient Arcadian cities of Mantinea and Tygea. The town is irregularly constructed, mostly of stone, with narrow, dirty and crooked streets, having on the whole, a very mean appearance. With respect to the fortifications, they consist of a wall of masonry nine feet high, six feet thick at the bottom, three at the top; and which is furnished with a double row of ill contrived loop holes; at about two thirds of its height from the ground, runs a narrow and inconvenient banquette, which can only be ascended by flights of steps, placed at unequal distances for this purpose. Instead of bastions, there are demi-towers at different points, where cannon are placed, the rest of the wall being only defended by musketry. A citadel has been constructed west of the town, and on a somewhat more regular plan, with casements whose roofs are bomb-proof: but as these are open at the sides, and the whole interior space is extremely small, it is incapable of defence if regularly attacked. The artillery composed of thirty pieces of brass, and partly of old iron guns, many of them honey combed, was mounted on loose blocks of wood, instead of carriages, and but very indifferently supplied with ammunition or shot. Besides these disadvantages, another rocky eminence, commanding the town and citadel,

within little more than two hundred yards, completely screens the approaches of a besieging army.

The population usually consisting of about fifteen thousand persons, was now much augmented by the influx of Turks, from various quarters of the Morea. The Bardouniots, a wild Mussulmen tribe of Laconia, bordering upon Maina, and resembling the Mainotes in their warlike disposition and predatory habits, had also taken shelter at Tripolizza. All these, with the Albanians of the Kiayah, forming a garrison of about 8,000 men, the whole number of persons collected there, could not probably have been less than twenty thousand; yet did they allow themselves to be blockaded by five thousand raw and ill-armed Greeks, encamped without artillery or cavalry, on the summits of Tricopha.

So long as the Turkish horses were fresh and fit for service, the Christians did not attempt to occupy the plain. But the Mussulmen cavalry was gradually ruined for want of forage, and could no longer appear in the field in sufficient numbers. As the ground is entirely parched up in autumn, and destitute of a single blade of grass, their only forage consisted of vine leaves. The Greeks were therefore enabled to render the blockade closer, by posting themselves in the hamlets and villages round the town. Frequent skirmishes

now took place, brought on by the attempts of the Turks to penetrate into the vineyards. On one occasion, a large body of them, having made a sally and marched for some distance into the country, fell into an ambuscade on its return, and was defeated by Colocotroni with the loss of more than one hundred men, in killed alone: this check rendered the infidels more cautious. Provisions soon began to get scarce, and they were greatly distressed for water, the Greeks having cut the pipes that conducted it into the town.

Ipsilanti was however unwilling to wait for the slow operations of famine, and therefore felt very desirous of commencing a regular siege. To carry this purpose into effect, two things were required; ordnance fit to batter the walls, and men who had some acquaintance, at least, with the rudiments of gunnery and engineering. After the capture of Malvasia and Navarin, some pieces of cannon and mortars were transported from these places: their management were entrusted to an Italian adventurer, who gave himself out for a skilful master of that art; but having burst a mortar in his very first essay, he was dismissed with disgrace.

Having communicated with Marco Bazzaris, and other chiefs of Epirus, as well as appropriated a part of his supplies to the wants of Messolunghi, Prince Mavrocordato reached the camp before Tripolizzo towards the end of August, bringing

in his suite some French and Italian officers, who had accompanied him from Marseilles. The arrival of Mr. Gordon of Cairness, in the last days of September, also gave a most salutary impulse to the progress of the siege. This gentleman having travelled in the east of Europe, was intimately acquainted with the system of tyranny under which the Christian communities had so long groaned. He had also been distinguished for his military talents during the late war; and though in the enjoyment of all the advantages which fortune could bestow, every other consideration gave way to his sympathy for the struggling people of Greece. Hastening to Marseilles soon after the rising took place in the Peloponnesus, he loaded a vessel with cannon, arms and ammunition, and having selected a few followers whose support could be relied on, proceeded to Hydra, and thence to Tripolizza. Brave, humane, generous and unassuming; the arrival of such an auxiliary, could not fail to cheer the Greeks, and it is but justice to say, that they have never ceased to appreciate the importance of services, rendered doubly valuable at a time, when their cause seemed to be totally abandoned by the whole Christian world.

Thus strengthened, councils of war were held, and preparations made for pushing the siege with all possible vigour. Ipsilanti had never given up his intention of forming regular troops, and hav-

ing now so many men at his disposal, he endeavoured to carry this design into execution. A brave French officer named Balisto, who had accompanied the prince from Trieste, was already employed at Calamata, in training a battalion who were clothed in black, the colour of the Hetærists, and armed with muskets and bayonets. Some of the officers were European, and the men mostly from the islands in the coast of Asia Minor. Amongst them were many unfortunate Cydonians, whose flourishing city had been given up to the flames, and destroyed during the recent persecutions in that quarter. Mr. Gordon, who had been received with open arms by the chiefs as well as the prince, and immediately placed at the head of the general staff, undertook the training of some companies in the camp of Tricopha. Recruits presented themselves with alacrity, allured by the hope of obtaining a good musket and better accoutrements: nearly all of them shewed great quickness in learning their evolutions. But the jealousy of the Ephors defeated this scheme, for they dissolved the corps by refusing to furnish provisions, and thereby inducing the soldiers to desert. They would have willingly done the same at Calamata, obliging Ipsilanti not only to disburse the pay of the battalion out of his own resources, but even to find its rations at an exorbitant price: thus opposed, it was with some difficulty he could obtain forage for the few horses

on which his staff was mounted, while his table was very scantily supplied. All these obstacles were borne with great patience by the prince, who seemed only to think of the interests at stake, not doubting but that the former would be removed by time.

There were at this period, about two thousand men in different parts of Greece, who had belonged to the regiments formed in the Ionian Islands by General Church, an officer whose name is very popular among the military chiefs. Yet, not one of these would aid in the establishment of regular troops, preferring their own bands where there was no restraint of discipline! With regard to these Greeks who had served in Russia and France, the case was altogether different. Being in general, meritorious officers, who came to their country's aid in its hour of need, they highly favoured the project. But what could be effected by the zeal of a few isolated individuals, who were almost looked upon as foreigners?

Though the resolution to commence the siege in regular form, had been made early in September, every day some new difficulties arose.

* This officer is still in the service of Naples, and is the same who was forced to fly from popular vengeance in Sicily, when the people of that unhappy and oppressed Island sought to shake off the Neapolitan yoke in 1821.

The artillery consisted of one twenty-four pounder in the worst possible state of repair, one eighteen and two sixteen pounders; one twelve and ten inch mortar, all of iron, and three or four light brass field pieces, two and four pounders. There were not above fifty bullets for the heavy pieces, and the bombs which had been left at Malvasia by the Venetians, were almost choaked up with dirt; the powder was of the most indifferent description, and yet it was necessary to put in very weak charges, to prevent the old and honeycombed pieces from bursting. Not a gabion or fascine could be procured, although there was an abundance of materials in the neighbourhood, and some thousand idlers in the camp. The only substitute was a small quantity of bags generally so rotten, that many of them burst in the attempt to fill them with earth. Whether it arose from obstinacy or ignorance, the Greeks, who hazarded every thing on the events of the war, and were content to remain twelve hours together behind a stone, watching for an opportunity to fire at a Turkish sentinel, refused to touch a shovel or pick axe: and it was only occasionally and by great perseverance of the chiefs, that a few labourers could be collected; as, without a military chest, every idea of paying was out of the question. A small corps of artillerymen composed of Ionians, Dalmatians, and Italians formed a most agreeable contrast to this unaccountable apathy;

almost destitute of food or clothing, they served throughout with unwearied courage and perseverance, never quitting their guns for a moment.

Amidst so many difficulties, the progress of the siege could not be very rapid; but the Greeks, who seemed to expect that the sound of cannon was to produce the same effect, which the trumpets of Joshua did at Jericho, murmured incessantly against the foreign officers, whom they taxed with want of skill, for not reducing the place to dust. Some advances were however made before the end of September. The height commanding the citadel was entrenched and a battery established on it, of two heavy guns, intended to effect a breach in the town wall. But after expending the stock of shot, it was found that no more than the upper part was beaten down; the lower and more solid portions having received no detriment. To the right of the entrenchment, were the field pieces, which could always by a few discharges of grape, clear the opposite ramparts. On an eminence in the rear, and within musket shot of the town, the two mortars were placed in battery, and sometimes threw shells and other incendiary balls into the town, without however, any other result, than damaging a few houses and frightening the women and children. On the other side, the supineness of the infidels was really astonishing. There is not a doubt but that by a brisk cannonade of two hours, they might at

any time have ruined the Greek batteries and dismounted the guns; yet they never appeared to think of such an expedient, merely firing a few shots in the morning, from cannon which had been charged the night before: for unless they apprehended an assault, they never ventured to load during the day time, lest they should be exposed to the Greek marksmen: and though their fire of musketry never ceased altogether, it was always weak and ill sustained.

In the Greek camp, various projects were agitated for the more speedy reduction of the city. Ipsilanti proposed to storm, and was seconded by the eager impatience of the troops, who demanded to be led to the assault; but the primates and captains, anxious to save the vast treasures it was supposed to contain, from general pillage, evaded this proposal, and never furnished the scaling ladders ordered by the Prince. These latter determined to proceed by mining, and accordingly, they summoned the inhabitants of a neighbouring village, who were miners by profession, to the camp for that purpose. The proposed attempt, was however totally disapproved by the foreign officers; first, because the ground presented nothing but one solid rock; and secondly, because if ever completed, there was not powder enough to charge the mine. The Greeks began however, close to the foot of the wall, and worked with great spirit for two days, when the great impedi-

ment in the soil forced them to desist; meanwhile the distress of the besieged was extreme; the little provision that remained consisting principally of biscuit: horseflesh was appropriated to men of the highest rank, and the Kiayah's troops; while crowds of the poorer classes were seen wandering about the streets, gnawing the half burnt bones of dead animals. Many of these unhappy wretches, looking more like phantoms than human beings, came out with their families, and surrendered themselves, but were of course sent back to the town: some endeavoured to escape to the mountains, but they were intercepted and slain. An epidemic disease, the consequence of famine, and of the want of good water, also made great ravages among those who, but a short time before lorded it over their Christian vassals with no less pride than haughtiness. To heighten the natural horrors of such a scene, their chiefs did not agree among themselves; the Kiayah and commandant being at daggers drawn with Khamil Bey, governor of Corinth, the richest Turk of the Morea or perhaps in the empire. The result of all this was, that the garrison become quite dispirited and the Albanians had even become mutinous. Under these circumstances, the Ottoman began to make some indirect overtures for a capitulation, which were readily listened to by the Peloponnesian leaders, who promised to grant their lives, and the means of transport to Asia or Egypt;

The Turks however, always disposed to procrastinate, spun out the negotiation; for being aware that their fleet was on the coast, they still cherished some hopes of relief; at the same time, the Albanians, objects of less animosity to the Greeks, and therefore less fearful of their vengeance, began to stipulate for themselves, and promised to abandon the Turkish cause, could they be assured that their old master Ali Pacha was still in existence. To convince them of this fact, a Greek whose name they mentioned, and in whose word they reposed confidence, was sent for express from Albania to hold a conference with them.

On the 23rd of September, and while these various negotiations were going on, an accidental circumstance brought on a sharp action, in which the garrison gave some last proofs of expiring vigour. Ipsilanti had in vain given strict orders to prevent the practice that prevailed of the two parties meeting near the walls, to converse and even trade together. On the day in question, a species of fair was established before the spot on which the Mainotes were posted; when their old neighbours the Bardouniots come out to exchange their silver mounted pistols, for strings of dried figs. Kyriacouli hastened to the place and fired his musket in the direction of the Turks as a warning for them to withdraw; but the latter not understanding the signal and suspecting treachery, snatched up their arms, fell upon the Greeks,

and drove them back. On perceiving his success, a large body of Mussulmen issued forth to support their countrymen, and the whole Greek army advanced to take part in the action. The fire of musketry which followed, was very heavy for above two hours, while the cannon from the Christian batteries played furiously on the town, the engagement being fought on the other side. The parties alternately gained and lost ground, until Colocotroni, having marched quite round the walls, fell on the rear of the Turks, and at the same moment, a French officer M. de la Villasse, charged them in front sword in hand, at the head of about eighty Ionians, when they were routed and driven back with great loss. The Greeks had also some men killed and wounded in this affair.

The arrival of some disagreeable intelligence from Patrass on the 25th September, having obliged Ipsilanti to march northward at the head of a large detachment, the command of the troops at Tricopha devolved on the bey of Maina; for Mavrocordato and Cantacuzene had proceeded to Messolunghi a fortnight before, to assume the government of Western Greece. The force now collected, amounted to seven thousand men, and re-inforcements were coming in daily, allured as much by the hopes of obtaining arms, as an anxiety to see their enemies driven from a place which had been a source of so many calamities to Greece; it was indeed now evident, that its

fall could not be far distant. Frequent conferences were held, the Kaiyah bey treating with an officer of the Prince's staff left there on purpose, the Bardouniots with the bey of Maina, and the Albanians with Colocotroni. These last soon came to an understanding: it was agreed that they should return to the service of Ali Pacha, and that they should even be paid their arrears from the spoils of the city; but there was probably no serious intention of executing the second article. On the 1st of October, two thousand five hundred Bardouniots, came out and surrendered to the Mainotes, taking up their quarters in the Greek camp, and the Turkish chiefs now began to treat in good earnest. During the negociations, hostilities did not altogether cease: the mortars occasionally played on the town, and were served with precision; but it was impossible to keep up the bombardment with spirit, because their beds, made of unseasoned wood, were continually giving way. On Friday the 5th of October, a capitulation is said to have been verbally agreed upon, but scarcely was it concluded, when a fortuitous circumstance, rendered the compact of no avail, and brought on a terrible catastrophe. A few Greek soldiers having approached the gate of Argos, entered into conversation with the Turkish sentinels, and began as usual to barter fruit. The Turks were imprudent enough to assist them in mounting the wall, with a

large basket of grapes, in exchange for which they gave their arms; but no sooner had the Greeks gained the summit, than they hurled down the unguarded Mahometans; opened the gate, the only one that was walled up, to their comrades, and displayed the standard of the Cross above it. When this emblem was perceived from the camp, it acted like an electric shock; the whole Christian army instantly rushed from all sides to the assault, and the disorder once began could not be stopped, for the Turks immediately opened a brisk fire of cannon and small arms upon them from the citadel and ramparts. The principal Greek officers, who certainly could not have restrained their men, were drawn away by the torrent: Colocotroni was one of the last to hear what was passing, and as he would not deign to follow the steps of any other captain, he determined to force a passage for himself, so that his troops suffered severely. After the gates were broken down and the walls scaled, a furious struggle was maintained in the streets and houses; but the Peloponnesians flushed with victory and spurred on by vengeance were irresistible, and before sunset, all opposition was quelled in the blood of the unfortunate Moslems. The citadel, where a large body of Turks had taken refuge, having held out till the following evening, surrendered at discretion.

Filled as the history of Europe is, with the re-

cital of cities taken by storm, and the scenes which have followed, it were a task as needless as it would be painful to retrace those which occurred at Tripolizza between the evening of the 5th, and the morning of the 7th of October, 1821. The most superficial observer, does not require to be told that cities thus taken, have in civilized as among the most savage nations, seldom failed to bring all the bad passions of our nature into frightful activity. On this occasion, that animosity which generally inflames the victorious assailant, was aggravated by the accumulated oppressions of centuries, and by recent atrocities on the part of the infidels, of so dreadful a caste, that they seemed to cry aloud for retribution and vengeance. The Arcadian peasants, naturally fierce and ungovernable, and who had long suffered every species of outrage and indignity, from the haughty Mahometans of Tripolizza, showed themselves both cruel and relentless towards their fallen oppressors. The Mainotes, less greedy of blood than of spoil, secured the largest and most valuable share of booty; about six thousand Turks are said to have perished, and some thousands were made prisoners, while numbers escaped to the mountains. The loss of the Greeks was never very exactly known, but estimated at five hundred killed and wounded. One of the many reports circulated in Europe, and which a French author who pretends to write a history of the

Greek revolution, has gravely repeated, stated that several hundred Greeks lost their lives in fighting with each other for the spoil; but this, like too many other charges, is utterly devoid of foundation. The Albanians to the number of fifteen hundred, marched out of the town, as the Greeks entered, without the least hostility passing between them. It has been said that the latter not only received a sum of money, which was afterwards taken from them, but that they were massacred: nothing can be further from the truth :—the fact is, they marched through the Morea in a peaceable and orderly manner, were regularly supplied with provisions, and escorted by five hundred of Colocotroni's troops to Vostizza, whence they crossed over to Romelia; but finding themselves on the other side, and out of danger, the remainder of their march was marked by the greatest excesses.

With respect to the catastrophe of Tripolizza: it is well known how acrimoniously the conduct of the Greeks on this occasion, was brought forward at the time, and evidently with a view of throwing general discredit on the nation as well as the sacred cause in which it was struggling. Were it possible to measure the cruelties committed there by any ordinary standard, doubtless much of what has been said, would be considered as admissible by those who, without attempting to apologize for the excesses of an infuriated soldiery, yet feel anxious that all the circumstances of the

case should be laid before the European public. That those who so readily pronounced judgment in the first instance, were totally incompetent to decide between the Greeks and their oppressors, cannot be fairly denied, now that prejudice and passion have given way to fact, and sober reasoning. If it could be shewn, that the infidels had preserved the life of a single armed Greek who fell into their hands, from the breaking out of the contest till the storming of Tripolizza, then, indeed, might there be something like a plausible pretext for a great deal of what has been said. But surely every fact that has transpired, tends to prove, that the former considered it as a war of extirmination from the very commencement, and that the whole of their conduct was influenced by this consideration

It has been shown under what circumstances the insurrection commenced throughout Greece, and more especially in the Morea; where it was not in the first instance so much a rising in favour of freedom as a struggle for existence. But the motives of revenge were infinitely stronger at Tripolizza than in any other part of Greece: it had been the seat of government, and as such, the scene of innumerable atrocities; not to mention a systematic plan of violence and spoliation, unequalled throughout the Ottoman dominions. Indeed the Turks of this place, had always been proverbial for their oppressions and irascible

hatred to Christianity. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages were the first to flock down and co-operate in the siege. The exactions to which these unfortunate people and their ancestors had been subjected, could only be credited by those who have been long conversant with the system of rule towards Christians, in Mahometan countries. Can it be for one moment a matter of surprise, therefore, that persons who had been thus treated, were foremost in rushing into the city when they saw the standard of Christ displayed on the walls; or, that when once before the authors of their sufferings, the rude and uncultivated Greek peasant, did what has been done in a thousand instances by the best disciplined troops of Europe?*

* Pursuant to the usual mode of governing in the dominions of the Sultan as well as among the Barbary pirates, who are still permitted to pollute the beautiful regions of Northern Africa, it was customary to send large bodies of troops forth in various directions and at stated periods, to collect the tribute and capitation tax of the Morea. It would be scarcely possible to name any excess that was not committed during these predatory expeditions, which might in all respects be assimilated to those of an open enemy; for the Turks on reaching a Greek village, would at once take possession of the houses, forcing the ill-fated inmates to supply whatever they possessed without the smallest compensation:—many were the fathers, who were drawn to Tripolizza for no other motive than to be avenged for the nameless robberies and violations which had been perpetrated in the course of these journies. Also a great number of the Greek women, who had experienced

Leaving, however, the multifarious motives to vengeance on the part of the people untouched,

injuries that admit of no compensation short of personal vengeance. The story of one of these poor creatures may serve as a specimen: she had inhabited a neighbouring village, and lived in a state of comparative happiness with her husband, an honest and industrious peasant. Having in the course of her visits to the market of Tripolizza, excited the cupidity of a Turkish soldier, he left nothing untried to induce her compliance with his wishes. Being however foiled in his efforts, the infidel determined to gratify the predominant passion of Mussulmen revenge. Having in pursuance of this design, waylaid and murdered the husband, he followed up the horrible act, by placing the mangled head in such a situation, that it was the first object seen by his distracted wife on the following day. It was to demand justice against the perpetrator of this act, that the poor wretch presented herself at the head-quarters of Colocotroni, a few days after the assault.

The palace of the Bey at Tripolizza, was one of those which afforded the greatest facility for defence to the Turks. When the assault commenced, seven hundred of the infidels shut themselves up here, and continued to fire on the Greeks from the windows, until the latter were obliged to set it on fire to dislodge their opponents:—such was the horror in which this edifice was held, that the Greek peasantry rased the walls to the ground, rather than suffer the sight to offend their eyes, and remind them of those terrific scenes of which it had been the theatre.

While walking over the immense mass of ruins exhibited by this once stately pile, with my inestimable friend Alexis Lucopulo, one evening last summer, he suddenly stopped on a small platform of flags, opposite to that portion of the palace, where there had once been a balcony, from which the bey used to review the troops and witness executions. "It was here," said my friend, "that the virtuous Lundo, primate of Vostizza, lost his head in the autumn of 1813; at once the most cruel and unprovoked murder ever com-

what was the situation of the soldiery? The defence of the Turks was at intervals extremely obstinate: they made several desperate sorties, in which numbers of the Greeks fell; a capitulation had been repeatedly offered, and as often refused, until all hope of promised and expected relief was vain. As, during the attack at Malvasia, not a day passed without the recital of some new horrors committed by the infidels; and it was only a short time before the assault, that the Capitan Pacha's fleet had entered the gulph of Le-

mitted by our Moslem tyrants." On further inquiry, I found that Lundo had been a man of very great talents, and universally beloved not only by his own countrymen, but also very popular among the infidels. He had rendered highly important services to the Porte; and was the confidential friend of Cheli bey, the person who ordered his assassination. Suspected of some partiality for his countrymen, in a question which arose between the inhabitants of a small town near Tripolizza, and the bey, Lundo was one day invited to take coffee with him at the palace, where he was consulted upon all occasions that advice was wanting. Mounting his horse—for he was allowed to ride one—the unsuspecting primate proceeded to obey the summons, and on reaching the platform, was dragged from the saddle, when the usual sign of the hand being given by Cheli, who sat smoking his pipe in the balcony, the head of Lundo was instantly severed from his body, put into a sack, and forwarded to Constantinople.

The death of this illustrious victim still continues to be most deeply lamented throughout the Morea; his two sons, one of whom as a military leader of great eminence, and another, a member of the legislative body, are among the most popular citizens of the confederation.

panto, landed troops at Vostizza, Galaxidi and other points, to which they set fire, massacring all the inhabitants who fell in their way.

When the great privations to which both the peasantry and soldiers employed before Tripolizza, are considered; unarmed* and exposed on the pinnacles of the mountains, where storms are frequent, without clothing or shelter of any kind, and not unfrequently deprived of food for whole days together, the feelings of irritation arising from such sufferings, deserve the most serious attention. But it has been asked by the Greek chiefs, who most lament the excesses committed on this occasion, what would have been the certain consequences of a capitulation. What means did they possess, either to guard the Turks as prisoners, or send them out of the country? A scarcity bordering on famine, had already overspread the land; Patrass, Corinth, Modon, Coron, and Napoli di Romania were still in the hands of the enemy: to crown all, a very formidable Turkish fleet was at sea, while a large squadron of Algerines were cruising among the islands of the Archipelago. In forming an opinion of this event, it should

* Few of the peasants who collected under the walls of Tripolizza, had any other arms than bludgeons or old attaghans. Nor would it have been easy to remedy this want, were it not for the success which attended their attacks on those who composed the sorties from the town.

be recollected, that besides the difficulties which opposed every effort to establish discipline, there was no government formed; and that the Greek people were to all intents and purposes reduced to that situation, in which men are no longer bound by any of the ties which control civilized communities.

Admitting that none of those public writers, who either prompted or joined in the outcry which was raised after the fall of Tripolizza, were incompetent to argue the question, much less decide on its merits; surely there cannot be, on the other hand, any impropriety in comparing the excesses committed there with those which have marked the progress of all the wars that have desolated Europe during the last century, for it is needless to go any further back. Without entering into the subject at greater length, or citing the innumerable facts which might be brought forward even from our own history, it may surely be safely asked, whether, when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, the aggregate excesses in Greece, bear any comparison in point of wantonness and enormity, with those which preceded the partition of Poland, or that occurred during the French revolution, and the wars to which it has given rise in almost every quarter of the globe? Would to God, that scenes of almost daily occurrence

in the sister kingdom, did not also furnish proofs of what appalling crimes men can commit, when once brought to believe that the social compact is broken, and all notions of moderation or virtue are extinguished by a sense of their calamities.*

* Those who so harshly judge the conduct of the Greeks at Tripolizza, and other points, would do well to recollect the battle of Agincourt, Siege of Magdeburgh, ravages in the Palatinate under Turenne, the treatment of the Scotch after the battle of Culloden, various events of the North American war, the massacres of both parties in Ireland, the assaults of Jamael, Prague, and Belgrade; not to mention the many other instances of cruelty, which stain the page of history.

CHAPTER IX.

PROGRESS of the war in Thessaly and Macedonia.—Battle of Fontana.—Relative Position of the contending Parties in Livadia.—Revolt in Eubea.—Departure of the Capitana Bey from Constantinople:—His first Operations.—The Greek Vessels return to port.—A Turkish Squadron appears before Calamata.—The Fleet proceeds to Patrass.—Expedition of Ipsilanti.—Calavrita.—Descent of the Infidels at Vostizza.—Attack and destruction of Calaxidi.—Heroism of the Inhabitants.—Intrepidity of two Greek Soldiers.—Ipsilanti returns to Tripolizza:—his entry and reception.—Appearance of the Town:—it is abandoned.—Congress convoked at Argos.—Project of taking Napoli di Romania by assault: it fails.—The Congress is transferred to Epidaurus.

LEAVING the irritated victors amidst the smoking ruins of Tropolizza, it is now time to recur to the object of Prince Ipsilanti's expedition, as well as to passing events at other points of the confederation.

In the month of August, four Pachas advanced from the confines of Thessaly and Macedonia at the head of five thousand men, to Zetouni, where one of them died suddenly. Their object was to force the straits of Thermopoly, and uniting with

the Ottoman troops at Thebes and Athens, to enter the Morea and relieve Tripolizza and the other fortresses. Odysseus was posted with a small corps above the defiles on the high road to Livadia, at a place called Fontana, near the banks of the Asopus, and on the ancient site of Heraclea. The Pachas sent an advanced guard of three hundred horse in the first instance, to reconnoitre his position: this detachment having fallen into an ambuscade, was cut to pieces. On the following day, the Turks assailed Odysseus with their whole force; the circumstances attending this action, strongly demonstrate the little reliance that can be placed on irregular bands, and on what a slender thread their success or failure depends. At the first onset, the Christians gave way, and would soon have dispersed entirely, had not a valiant chief named Gouraz, made a stand with only ten of his companions, calling out in the words of the patriarchal warriors, "to the spoil O Greeks." Encouraged by his voice and example, they returned to the charge, and after a desperate struggle, the infidels were completely routed. According to the accounts of the victors, twelve hundred of the former were left dead on the field; the Ottomans acknowledged a loss of five hundred. One Pacha was slain; and several standards and pieces of cannon, a number of horses and quantities of baggage fell into the hands of the Greeks. This victory, which was achieved on the 31st of

August, proved of great importance to the cause of the Patriots. Had the battle been lost, there is indeed no calculating what the consequences might have been. For nearly two months afterwards, the positions of the armies in Greece were various. At Zetouni and in front of Odysseus, were the remains of the Mussulman forces, beaten on the 31st; in his rear was a Turkish division of three thousand men at Thebes; and the corps of Omer Vrioni at Athens, both of which had continual affairs of advanced posts at Dolreni and Dorbeni, with the Greeks who defended the Isthmus of Corinth. Two thousand Bœotian peasants occupied some points round the mountains of Thebes, while fifteen hundred armed Athenians held the Island of Salamis, and other parties were assembled on the hills of Attica.

About the end of August, an insurrection broke out in Eubœa, headed by the Bishop of Carystus, who endeavoured to interrupt the communication between Athens and Negropont, and to cut off a Turkish detachment passing from the former to the last named place, with a convoy of valuable effects. But his followers taking to flight at the first fire, he was forced to escape to Hydra.

It was on the 14th of August, that the grand Ottoman fleet quitted the Dardanelles, under the command of Kara Ali the Capitana Bey, who was afterwards blown up by the Ipsariots at

Scio. It consisted of thirty sail, of which four were of the line and one a three decker. After an ineffectual attempt on the Island of Samos, the Turkish admiral steered to the southward, pursued by one hundred and nine Greek vessels. The islanders, whose largest ships did not carry more than thirty guns, did not however seek an action in the open sea, but sought an opportunity of separating the hostile fleet or attacking it with fire ships. The Turks grown wary by experience, avoided exposing themselves to these destructive machines, taking care to keep in a close body and always under sail. They had now a number of European seamen chiefly natives of Malta and Genoa on board the fleet. These men, of whom there are a great many generally idle at Constantinople, were allured more by the hope of pecuniary advantages than any interest in the struggle, which was indeed a matter of perfect indifference to them. The Greek sailors, with a spirit of impatience which has often proved prejudicial to their cause, obliged their chiefs to return to port, so that all their exploits during this cruise, were limited to burning a few Turkish transports on the coast of Anatolia. A single fast sailing schooner, commanded by a brother of the Hydriot admiral Tombasi, was left to watch the enemy's movements; but she returned to Hydra on the 3rd of September, bringing intelligence, that the Ca-

pitana Bey, reinforced by the Egyptian and Algerine squadrons, had passed the Island of Cos, on his way to Candia. This information proved erroneous, as Kara Ali steered directly for the Peloponnesus, and supplied Coron and Modon with provisions. His appearance on the southern shore of the Morea, created general consternation. Some of his smaller vessels having approached Calamata, the military commandant and garrison prepared to fly to the mountains, but were encouraged to remain by the example of the brave Balisto, who drew up his weak battalion, in order of battle upon the strand, partially covered by some sand hills, and caused his trumpets and drums to sound, while a body of one thousand Mainotes fired a general volley of musketry, from behind the rocks. The pusillanimous Turks, disheartened by this show of resistance, sheered off, without daring to disembark :—while thus employed, Balisto learned that the people of Calamata were about to dispatch the Mussulman prisoners confined there; he instantly flew to the town with a party of soldiers, arrived in time to prevent the act, and then returned to his post on the beach. The loss of this excellent officer, who died gloriously in Crete, on the field of battle in 1822, was a great misfortune to the Greek cause. Born in that Island, of French parents, and habituated to war under Napoleon, he spoke the language of Greece fluently, exercised considerable influence over the

people, and was capable of rendering the most eminent services. *

From Modon, the Capitana Bey sailed to Patrass; three thousand Achaians and Ionians blocked up that place on the land side, while some light vessels prevented supplies from entering by sea. The latter fled on the appearance of the fleet, taking shelter either at Galaxidi, or running on the shallows of Messolunghi, where they were burned by the Turkish boats. Kara Ali, having arrived in the roads, made a discharge of his artillery upon the Greek camp, and the garrison sallied forth at the same time: a single post of two hundred men offered a slight resistance; the rest of the besiegers dispersed themselves in the mountains, leaving the few pieces of cannon they had, in the power of the Turks. This was the event which induced Ipsilanti to quit the walls of Tripolizza, for the purpose of re-establishing the blockade, as well as obviating the consequences of such a defeat. The troops destined to accompany him, amounting to about seven hundred men, marched in two columns; the first consisting of five hundred of the militia of Caritena, left the camp on the 24th of September, under the orders of two sons and a nephew of Colocotroni. The Prince himself, accompanied by Mr. Gordon and

* Mr Gordon, under whose direction as chief of the staff, Balisto was frequently employed, bears the highest testimony to his merits as a patriot and a soldier.

his own staff, the battalion of Balisto which had just arrived from Calamàta, and did not exceed two hundred men and officers; also a few artillery men having one mounted gun, a light brass four pounder, set out on the following day. On the 28th, both divisions formed a junction at Calavrita. This town of four hundred houses, the ancient Cynethus, is seated in a fine valley among the mountains, and in a central point, whence roads branch off to Patrass, Corinth, and Tripolizza. The advantages of its position engaged the Prince to suspend his march to Patrass; whither he despatched an aid-de-camp, until he should receive intelligence of the enemy's movements. Indeed his presence before that fortress was no longer necessary, as the Turks had not attempted to improve their victory, and the Greeks were beginning to recover from their panic; seven hundred having re-assembled in the mountains, they were soon increased to more than double that number. On the night of the 29th, a messenger arrived in breathless haste, bringing information that the Sultan's forces had landed at Vostizza, only a few leagues from Calavrita, and having burned the town, were advancing into the interior. Ipsilanti instantly took his measures with great judgment, and at day break on the 30th, marched to meet the enemy. His little army, reinforced by some militia of Calavrita, and now amounting to nearly a thousand men with one field piece, was in

high spirits, and extremely well disposed to fight. But a second messenger met the Prince on his way, and stated that the enemy, had re-embarked, after committing various excesses and carrying off a large flock of sheep found near Vostizza. Approaching the coast, Ipsilanti took post for the night on a lofty eminence between the plain and the sea, adopting such precautions as were necessary to prevent a surprise: for the Ottoman squadron of one frigate and thirty brigs was seen at anchor near the shore, and it was known that the Pacha of Egypt had sent fifteen hundred Albanians, who passed for good troops. The 1st of October was stormy and rainy, but on the mist clearing away about noon, the Turkish vessels were perceived to weigh anchor and steer to the north-east. There could be no doubt that their first object was the attack of Galaxidi, but well founded apprehensions were entertained with regard to their ulterior operations. The wind was blowing steadily from the north-west, and a few hours might carry them to the head of the gulph of Corinth. It was nearly certain that, if they landed troops there, the fifteen hundred Greeks blockading the Acropolis, would fly to the hills, when the other troops employed to defend the Isthmus would be exposed to a double attack in front and rear: or the Turkish division at Thebes might, in one long march, reach the fort of Livadostro, and be thence transported by their own shipping, into the

Morea, thus turning the defiles; while Omer Vrioni was ready to co-operate from Eleusis. Indeed none but Turks could have been blind to the advantages of such a plan, or so timid as not to attempt its execution. But recollecting that he had no right to calculate on the faults of an enemy, however ignorant, the Prince resolved to advance towards Corinth with all speed.

The small commercial town of Galaxidi, on the shore of Ozolian Locris, is situated within the Bay of Cyrrha, and near its entrance. The principal wealth of its industrious inhabitants, consisted in a number of small trading vessels. Aware that their vigilance in blockading Lepanto, had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the barbarians, they had made preparations for defence, by erecting a battery on an islet at the harbour's mouth, and mooring their little flotilla in line before the town. The women and children were sent to Salona, so that none but combatants remained. On the evening of the 1st of October, the Ottoman squadron took up its position and summoned the Galaxidiotes to surrender. But regardless of the vast disparity of force, the latter answered by firing on the boat which brought the message. The Turks immediately began the attack, and battered the place for two hours, when night put an end to the action. It was renewed at day-break, and lasted for three hours more. Ipsilanti and his staff were on a height on the

opposite side of the gulph, anxiously watching the issue of the battle; a tongue of land concealed the fleet and town from their view, but the cannonade from so many pieces of heavy artillery was tremendous; at length it suddenly ceased, when a mingled cloud of flame and black smoke, ascending to heaven, told but too severely the fate of Galaxidi. After opposing a most gallant resistance to such a prodigious superiority both in numbers, guns and weight of metal, the brave inhabitants fled to the mountains of Salona, having previously destroyed their vessels and batteries. The Turks hesitated to land, but the Algerines, stimulated by the hopes of plunder, jumped into their boats and rowed to the beach. The town was then pillaged, and being set on fire, its blazing ruins continued for two or three successive nights to shed a lurid and melancholy light over the waters of Lepanto.

The army of Ipsilanti witnessed a trait of heroism on this occasion, which ought not to be passed over in silence. An earnest wish was entertained at the head-quarters of the Prince, to open a correspondence with the leading men in the opposite districts of Romelia, but no bark could be found: upon which two soldiers of Balisto's division, formerly sailors by profession, boldly offered to cross the gulph on a raft, thus exposing themselves both to the waves and the enemy's vessels: when offered a reward, their reply

was, that they deserved none, and would undertake the duty, not from a hope of gain, but to serve their country. A letter was accordingly prepared, and they were on the point of setting out, when the wind became so strong, and the sea so rough, that it was not considered safe to allow these intrepid men to carry the design into effect.

After witnessing the destruction of Galaxidi, Ipsilanti proceeded by forced marches towards the Isthmus: on the 2nd he slept at Akrata, and on the next night, at Hylocastro. The wind having changed to the east, the Turkish fleet stood down the gulph again in its way to Patrass, and under a press of sail. All immediate cause of apprehension being thus removed, the Prince went on to Basilico, on the 4th, and halted there for some days, amidst the ruins of the ancient Sycion. It was here that he received intelligence of the fall of Tripolizza. From hence he proceeded to Hexamilia and Kanchra, where he held a conference with the officers to whom the care of guarding the Isthmus was entrusted. In passing before Corinth, he sent a written summons to the garrison of the Acropolis, stating what had passed at Tripolizza, and containing a menace, that if they did not surrender, a similar fate awaited themselves, as they would be stormed and put to the sword. Such a threat, addressed to an impregnable fortress, having provisions for three months, could not be

expected to produce much effect. The Turks made no answer at the time, but replied the next day, by firing some cannon shot at Ipsilanti's column as it passed on its way to St. Basil, by a road which the Acropolis ought at all times completely to command.

Having halted a day or two at Argos, and visited the posts round Napoli de Romania, Demetrius made his entry into the capital of the Morea on the 15th of October, amidst very great demonstrations of joy, and attended by a large body of troops who went out to meet him. Nothing could be more deplorable than the appearance of the town: not a single door lock, and scarcely a nail was left—the Mainotes having carried off every thing of that description. The plunder was taken home on the backs of their wives, who came down in great numbers for this purpose from their native fortresses. Ipsilanti had intended to appropriate the lead which covered the mosques to the public service, but it had all been stripped off. When every other portable article was gone, peasants were seen driving away their asses loaded with doors and window shutters. Of the immense booty nothing was assigned to the exigencies of the nation, except the artillery: every thing else became private property—most of the chiefs and primates enriched themselves; the Prince alone, sternly refused to convert any thing to his own use. The streets

were incumbered with dead bodies; even the houses were filled with the slain of either party; while the mountaineers and shepherds accustomed to dwell in rocks and woods, had now established their bivouacs amidst the broken fragments of oriental luxury. Fires broke out in the town every night, and the Prince himself was burnt out of his quarters a few days after his arrival. The only thing that occupied the Greeks, was the unequal manner in which the spoils had been shared. Complaints were heard on every side, and while some wished to conceal their gains, others murmured loudly at being defrauded of a fair portion. Ipsilanti's first object was to put an end to the great confusion that prevailed. He certainly succeeded in restoring some degree of order, but this was chiefly owing to the breaking up of the army, which gradually dispersed and melted away, carrying into the farthest corners of the Peloponnesus, those discontents and heartburnings, the seeds of which were sown at the sacking of Tripolizza. There now remained only the regular troops, consisting of one battalion of infantry and a company of artillery, with the retinue of some captains; a force scarcely sufficient to guard the Turkish prisoners. The Greeks had always pointed to the reduction of this place, as the period when disorder and anarchy were to cease, and be replaced by a regularly organized system of government.—It had now

fallen, but such were the difficulties opposed to this most desirable object, that the event seemed only to have embittered the dissensions of the leading men. Perceiving that his plans of amelioration were opposed with scarcely less pertinacity than before, and his influence every day declining, Ipsilanti resolved to submit all the disputed points to a national congress, which was summoned to meet at Tripolizza. But a contagious disease, caught probably from the Turks, and aggravated by the great number of putrifying carcases, broke out there in the beginning of November, and spread with such rapidity, that it was found necessary to abandon the place altogether for a short time. The assembly was therefore convoked at Argos, where the Prince repaired to attend the deliberations.

In the meanwhile, deputies arrived from different parts of Greece charged to demand succours from the government of the Peloponnesus, and to give an account of what was passing in their respective districts.

The news from Macedonia excited most attention, as the campaign there did not, as yet, wear a hopeless aspect. Allusion has already been made to the insurrection at Salonica, and the retreat of the Greeks into the Peninsula of Cassandra, where they threw up intrenchments, and cut a ditch across the Isthmus. The adjacent promontories of Torone and Mount Athos were also in

a state of revolt, and each contained several thousand armed men. It is well known that the woody and romantic crags of Athos are studded with Greek monasteries which enjoy certain chartered privileges: one of these, is an exemption from the presence of Turkish troops. A single Aga residing at Kares, conducts the civil administration in concert with a monastic council. The convents, very difficult of access, are fortified and even provided with artillery, to resist the attacks of pirates. Not long before his martyrdom, the patriarch had despatched a very learned and estimable Albanian physician to the Holy Mountain, with instructions to persuade the monks to remain quiet, and take no part in the existing troubles. But this emissary on his arrival, found that the violent measures of the Turks, had already driven the religious community into rebellion. The Pacha of Salonica begun by summoning them to deliver up their arms and receive an Ottoman garrison; and scarcely waiting for a reply, caused a great number of servants, who cultivated their estates in the open country, to be seized and publicly executed. Thus pressed, the monks took a decisive resolution, refused to obey the orders of the Pacha, imprisoned their governor, whom they however treated with the utmost mildness, and co-operated with the forces at Potidea and Torone.

During the summer and autumn, the Macedo-

nian Turks sent two expeditions against the intrenchments of Cassandra, and were twice repulsed. On the second occasion, the Christians by a vigorous sally, possessed themselves of nine pieces of heavy artillery. They were however much distressed for want of grain and ammunition, having received only some scanty supplies from the Hydriots, and therefore demanded assistance from the Peloponnesians. It happened most unfortunately, that while the affair was in agitation, the new Pacha of Salonica, who had brought up an overwhelming force, succeeded completely in a fresh attack. Cassandra was taken by storm on the 12th of November, and its garrison put to the sword, as a matter of course. Soon after this event, Mount Athos capitulated.

A deputation from Mount Olympus reached Tripolizza, about the middle of October, stating that seven thousand Macedonians were prepared to rise in the southern parts of that country, and demanding cannon, gunpowder and officers. Two six inch mortars were given to them, but scarcely had these pieces been landed at Ekatarina, than they were seized by a party of Turks. The projected insurrection, however, took place, and has continued with various success ever since.

In the Peloponnesus, there were but two points at which hostilities were prosecuted with any degree of vigour; these were Patrass and Napoli de Romania. The Capitana Bey having thrown sup-

plies into the fortresses on the coast, and added the squadron that had been employed against Ali Pacha, and which had not hitherto dared to quit Prevesa, to his own fleet; exulting besides, in the success of his officers at Galaxidi, he prepared to return to the Dardanelles, immediately after the destruction of that town. Passing before the island of Zante, with nearly eighty sail, he had the fairest opportunity that could have offered, of destroying twenty-two Greek vessels land-locked under the point of Chiarenza. But this gallant commander, whose valour and abilities were a theme of frequent eulogium in the official journal of Austria, did not even make the attempt. After firing a few distant broadsides, to intimidate the enemy, he cast anchor in the bay of Zante, and having obtained a supply of provisions from his agents there, quietly proceeded towards the Hellespont. On his departure, the Peloponnesians renewed their attacks against Patrass. The besieging force havingbeen considerably swelled by re-inforcements from Arcadia and Elis, was joined by Prince Mavrocordato and young Caradja, who brought over some pieces of ordnance, and a quantity of muskets from Messolunghi. Towards the end of October, the town was carried by assault, and the garrison once more forced to retire into the citadel. The Greeks displayed a good deal of courage in this affair, and experienced a

considerable loss. Having occupied the minarets and entrenched themselves in the houses, they kept up a continued fire of musketry against the ramparts of the castle, which the Turks answered from their great guns. Unhappily, the vigilance of the assailants was not equal to their bravery. It was impossible to induce them to take proper measures for preventing a surprise, and this negligence exposed them to a bitter affront. Yussuff Pacha had retreated into the castle of the Morea, which with one on the opposite coast of Romelia, defends the entrance of the Gulph of Lepanto, and the strait known by the name of the Little Dardanelles. Quitting this place on the 15th of November at noon, with only four hundred horse and foot, and marching in the rear of the Greeks, Yussuff was not perceived, until he entered the gates, and commenced an attack. The garrison of the citadel immediately sallied, and after a short and tumultuary conflict in the streets, the Christians were entirely routed. Mavrocordato and Caradja escaped with difficulty to a boat, which conveyed them back to Messolunghi: their cannon, baggage and a magazine containing fifteen hundred muskets, fell into the hands of the Turks. This action did honour to the vigour and military talents of Yussuff Pacha; and it was the third time he had raised the siege of Patrass, by completely dispersing the corps by which it was invested. He is

son to the famous Ishmael, Bey of Seres, who, from an Albanian robber, raised himself almost to the condition of an independent prince.

Ipsilanti had another object in view, in going to Argos, besides presiding over the deliberations of the Congress. He wished to push the siege of Napoli de Romania. Colonel Voutier, a French officer who then commanded the Greek artillery, had been actively engaged at Tripolizza in making preparations; but the means of attacking so strong a fortress were lamentably deficient. A plan was suggested to the Prince, for carrying it by assault. This was adopted, and measures taken in consequence, for re-assembling the army. To effect this the more expeditiously, a report was circulated, that Napoli was on the point of capitulating, sure that the hope of sharing its spoils would attract the peasants from all quarters; and not less than twelve thousand of them were in fact said to have passed through Argos in a few days after. Scaling ladders were accordingly prepared, and on the night of the 15th of December, every thing being ready, the troops and ships of war having taken up their respective stations, the following arrangements were made. Nikitas with five hundred men, was to scale the walls on the east side: a hundred and fifty European volunteers with Balisto's corps were to support his attack, and one company of the battalion, under the orders of M. Justin, also a Frenchman, was

destined to assail the Palamida, seated on a mountain, which looks down on the town, commanding both the sea and adjacent plain. This was, however, only meant as a demonstration, to divert the attention of the Turks. Yathracó, chief of the contingent from Mistra, was in reserve. One hundred sail of vessels, and fifty armed boats were to co-operate by attacking the fort. Three thousand Hydriotes and Spezziotes were embarked on board the boats with intention to land. This project, too bold and complicated for the Greeks, and presenting but slender chances of success, was only executed in part. The columns were put in motion on the 16th, at one o'clock in the morning: that of Nikitas, and Balisto, carried the scaling ladders to within two yards of the ditch, and remained there for nearly an hour waiting the signal of attack, without being perceived by the Turks, although the moon was shining with great brilliancy. At length the Mussulmen began to give some signs of life, by sounding their rude military music, which was soon followed by a brisk discharge of cannon and musketry. Ipsilanti then caused the signal to be given; but the Greeks, after a general volley, which only served to shew the enemy where the men had retired behind the rocks, subsequently dispersed themselves over the plain. The fleet did not make any attack, neither did Colocotroni; each party waiting till the other should begin. Balisto with the French and

German volunteers, and a part of his own battalion, remained for a considerable time exposed to a hot fire, not more than fifty paces from the ramparts, and then fell back slowly, and in good order. The Turks emboldened by the retreat of their adversaries, made a sortie, repulsed Justin's party, which had kept its ground after the flight of Colocotroni's division, seized the scaling ladders, and bore them off in triumph. The result of this affair ought to have convinced the Greeks how imprudent it is to attempt great or perilous enterprizes, with raw troops, unaccustomed to brave danger. Fortunately, the loss of the assailants was trifling, and fell almost exclusively on the foreign auxiliaries and Balisto's troops:—these two corps had thirty men killed and wounded.

After the above check, Prince Demetrius went to Argos, where frequent meetings of the deputies who had collected there from various points of the confederation, took place at his quarters: these continued until the arrival of Mavrocordato, whose presence, however, produced an immediate diminution in the number of Ipsilanti's visitors: nor did many days elapse, before it was evident that he regarded the former as a rival. Despairing, therefore, of being able to carry his plans into effect, and not wishing to expose himself to further humiliation, his whole attention was now directed to the progress of the war, and he departed soon after for Corinth, accompanied by Kiamel Bey,

through whose influence, it was hoped, that place would shortly surrender.

Owing to the vicinity of Argos, to Napoli de Romania, and the consequent interruption which might be occasioned by the operations of the siege, it was determined, after some preliminary arrangements, that the more important deliberations of the Congress should be held at Epidaurus in the Gulf of Egina; to which place the members accordingly repaired early in December, attended by Prince Mavrocordato, and several other military leaders of distinction.

CHAPTER X.

CONGRESS OF EPIDAURUS.—Deputies assembled there.—Promulgation of the Political Code.—Address to the People.—Nominations of President and Ministers.—Military operations before Corinth.—Duplicity of Kiamil Bey. —Panouria of Salona.—Retirement of the Albanians.—Surrender of the Acrocorinthus.—The Seat of Government is established at Corinth.—General State of the Confederation.—Arrival of Prince Mavrocordato.—Decrees of the Executive.—Military organization.—Disposal of the Forces.—Proclamation to the People.—Catastrophe at Scio, and reflections suggested by that Event.—Destruction of the Capitan Pacha.

THE assemblage of a congress at Epidaurus, has been justly regarded as a new era in the Greek Revolution, and were there any doubts as to the real cause of many of those disorders which occurred before this event took place, they would be removed, by merely marking the subsequent character assumed by the war, as well as the affairs of the confederation generally.

The anxiety of all classes to witness the formation of a government, was strongly evinced in

the eagerness with which deputies were elected throughout the country and sent to Argos. Besides Prince Mavrocordato and the military chiefs, the number of representatives who had reached Epidaurus by the middle of December, exceeded sixty, consisting of ecclesiastics, landed proprietors, merchants and civilians, who had for the most part received a liberal education in the west of Europe.

The first act of a Congress thus met, to re-establish institutions, which may be said to have ceased with the Roman conquest, twenty-one centuries before, was that of naming a commission, including the most enlightened members, to draw up a political code: the remainder being occupied in examining into the general state of the nation, ascertaining its resources, and devising the best mode of commencing the second campaign, with proper effect.

Although the declaration of independence was sent forth on the first of January, and the draft of a constitution presented at the same time, yet, as the various articles required examination and discussion, it was not promulgated till the 27th, when the code passed into a law, and was solemnly proclaimed amidst the acclamations of the deputies, soldiery, and people. Notwithstanding the imperfections inseparable from a work thus hastily prepared, it has been much admired for its moderation and firmness, while the framers, greatly

to their credit, knew how to avoid more than one glaring error with which the publicists of Europe have reproached the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Aware of the difficulty of their task; and convinced moreover, that a perfect system of legislation can only be the work of time and perseverance, the Greek code was wisely left open to the improvement and revision, which the genius of the people, and future experience should render necessary. While all the objections that might have been urged against the form of government, are obviated by the simple precaution of its being styled provisional; the promulgation of the code, was accompanied by an address to the people of Greece, setting forth the motives for shaking off the Turkish yoke, and containing a triumphant reply to those who had confounded their cause with that of other countries.

Having decided on the civil and political rights of the nation, the next object of Congress was to select five members to form an executive; the choice of President fell on Prince Mavrocordato, whose talents and extensive information, were pre-eminently displayed in aiding the commission appointed to draw up the Constitution. Ipsilanti was also invited to preside over the deliberations of the Legislative assembly; but having conceived that he was entitled to a still higher office, the Prince did not accept the proffered honour. In order that still greater effect might be given to the

measures of the new government, ministers were named to superintend the various departments of war, finance, public instruction, interior and police; a commission of three individuals from Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, was also appointed to direct the naval affairs.

While the National Congress were pursuing their arduous labours at Epidaurus, the capture of Corinth became an object of increasing solicitude and importance to the executive. A large force was therefore collected before that place, but such is the impregnable nature of its position, that every effort was made to induce the garrison, whose number did not exceed six hundred, to capitulate. It was to facilitate this object, that Kiamil Bey had been brought from Tripolizza. Owing to their great wealth and consequent means of bribery, the family of this Turk had governed Corinth, and the surrounding districts for nearly a century; and from their influence at Constantinople, every succeeding heir considered his claim to the government as an hereditary right; nor was there any part of the Morea in which the Greek population were so much exposed to extortion and tyranny. Happening to be absent when the insurrection broke out, Kiamil Bey took refuge at Tripolizza, leaving his family at Corinth. Anxious to save them, no sooner had the capital fallen, than he affected to become a warm advocate of the Greek cause, drank to

its success at the table of Ipsilanti, and even promised to induce the garrison to surrender, if he was only permitted to approach the walls. Now that this favour had been accorded, the cunning Mussulman, who was secretly informed of the preparations of Chourschid Pacha in Albania, contrived to elude the promises made at Tripolizza under various pretences, until violently threatened by Colocotroni and the other chiefs, when he was forced to write a letter to his wife and mother, ordering them to enter into negotiation with the Greeks. He had, however, found means to apprize them of what was passing, and thus prevented all the effect which his letter might have otherwise produced.

The arrival of Panouria, of Salona, a popular chief of that neighbourhood, gave a new and more favourable turn to the operations before Corinth. Originally a peasant of Mount Parnassus, he had in early life been driven to the necessity of drawing the sword to avenge the cruelty of a Turkish Aga, and greatly distinguished himself at the head of some brave Armatolians ever since the insurrection began. Having reproached the chiefs and soldiery with their inactivity, Panouria suggested various projects by which the Acrocorinthus might be carried: finding, however, but little disposition to adopt them, he determined to open a communication with the Albanian portion of the garrison; this plan succeeded

so well, that a treaty was concluded, by which they consented to withdraw, on condition of being allowed to return home with their arms and a gratification in money. These terms being readily granted, they descended from the citadel to the number of two hundred on the 22nd of January; and having been escorted to the beach, were embarked in boats, which transported them to the opposite shore of the gulph.

The retirement of the Albanians, having removed all farther hope of holding out on the part of the Turks, they also declared themselves ready to capitulate. Such, however, was the altered state of things, that they were now obliged to accept the terms granted by the besiegers. It was then agreed that the garrison should lay down their arms, and be conveyed to the coast of Asia-Minor in transports provided by the government of Greece. The first part of these conditions, was carried into effect on the 26th, and preparations made to execute the second, which was also fulfilled to a certain extent: but owing to a delay in the arrival of transports, the peasants who had been exposed to the innumerable exactions and oppressive acts of Kiamil Bey, rushed into the citadel and gratified their irresistible thirst for revenge on many of the Turks.* The conduct of

* The following anecdote is extracted from a Memoir of the War in Greece by Colonel Voutier, whose name has already appeared in a former chapter:—"While I was walking in the fields near Corinth,

Ipsilanti on this, as on every former occasion, was marked by the greatest humanity, and though his interposition could not entirely prevent the effervescence of popular feeling, it soon had the effect of calming the passions of the multitude.*

a few days after its capture, an old man who was taking care of a flock of sheep, asked me when Bekir Aga was to quit the fortress. "Why?" I replied, with a melancholy presentiment of his motives. "To wait for him," said he, at a particular place which he named. "Ah! my friend," added the old Greek, "you are happy not to know the Turks; the earth must be purged of this cursed stain. It offends God and nature. This Bekir-Aga one day asked my son for some milk to refresh himself; but it was not to allay his thirst that the request was made, he had a far different object in view; unhappily for my son, he was handsome: resisting the infidel, Bekir seized his attagan, and my sons clothes were torn. Exasperated by this treatment, the boy took up a stone and threw it at the Aga, who killed him on the spot. And all this happened under my own eyes, in the midst of these very sheep."—Having ended his story, the shepherd scraped the earth with his staff, and looking at me wistfully, exclaimed, "Here are his bones."

* While the Turkish garrison were embarking in the gulph of Egina, an English transport arrived at Vostizza under the protection of a brig of war; these vessels were sent from Corfu to receive the wife and harem of Chourschid Pacha, left at Tripolizza, when he was called on to march into Albania. These women had been treated with the greatest respect during the assault. The negotiation for their ransom was carried on under the immediate auspices of the late Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, and though Chourschid is said to have offered an immense sum, they were liberated for about 60,000 Spanish dollars. Knowing, as the Greeks of the Morea did, that all the riches possessed by their former tyrant, had been wrung from themselves, it was natural for them to be high in their demands. It is said that Giorgaki the se-

The reputed wealth of Kiamil Bey, without any reference to his former tyrannies and recent duplicity, was thought a sufficient plea for his being retained as a prisoner: but it was in vain that the Greeks urged him to disclose where his treasures were deposited, as he maintained an obstinate silence on this point.

Associated as Corinth has been, with all that is great or glorious in Grecian history: dominating the gulphs of Egina and Lepanto, while its strength as a military position, is unrivalled by any other in the Morea; the executive naturally took advantage of its capture, to establish the seat of government there. This event took place on the 27th of February, and it may truly be said, that on their reaching Corinth, those whom the legislators of Epidaurus had appointed to watch over the destinies of Greece, had little more to depend on, than the justice of her cause and constancy of the people. Destitute of resources at home; anathematized by the Holy Alliance assembled at Laybach, and exposed to the mistaken policy adopted by a late minister of England, they had nothing but persecution to anticipate from the Christian potentates. On the

cond son of Petros, Prince of Maina, a very fine young man, became enamoured of the legitimate wife of Chourschid, a beautiful young Georgian, and that his love was returned. A person who saw them part, for Georgaki superintended the embarkation, represents the scene as very affecting and even romantic.

other hand, the preparations of the enemy were such as to appal ordinary minds. The reduction of Yanina and death of Ali Pacha, had placed a very large disposable force in the hands of Chourschid Pacha, together with the immense treasures of the Albanian tyrant: an army had collected at Larissa to invade the Peloponnesus, while a formidable fleet was ready to leave the Dardanelles. In addition to all these causes of despondency, it is needless to say, that there still remained a considerable degree of jealousy among several of the primates; and that those among them, entrusted with local authority or influence, were not as yet so fully convinced of the importance of union and obedience to the new government, as the interest of the nation required.

Ipsilanti, who had suffered from a severe attack of typhus fever, after the fall of Corinth, but was now restored to health, did not conceal his disappointment on hearing of Mavrocordato's nomination to the presidency, which he conceived to be due to himself. Instead, therefore, of accepting the place of President of the Legislative Assembly, he accompanied Nikitas and a body of troops destined to watch the motions of the enemy at Zetouni, having previously renounced the title of Generalissimo assumed on his first coming to Greece.

On the arrival of the President from Hydra, where he had proceeded, to urge the necessity of

sending divisions of the fleet towards the Dardanelles and gulph of Lepanto, a system of order and activity commenced, which had been hitherto unknown in the confederation. As to the spirit which animated the new government, it might be easily traced in the decrees which followed the transfer to Corinth. *It was while the Porte was meditating fresh schemes of vengeance, and preparing to attack Greece by sea and land, that a decree was issued to abolish slavery, as well as the sale of the Turkish prisoners who should henceforth fall into their hands, which was interdicted under the severest penalties, and ordering that they should be treated as those of the most civilized countries. Another edict, regulated the compensations for military service, as also the provisions to be made for the widows and orphans of those who should fall in battle: while a third established a regular system of internal administration for the provinces.

Menaced on every side by forces so infinitely superior in number to their own, and headed by the most able of the infidel chiefs, the necessity of organizing the army on the European system, now became more apparent than ever. Although the means of effecting this great object were so slender, still it was of importance to make a beginning: a corps to be styled the first regiment of the line was therefore formed, and many of the officers were selected from the volunteers who

had joined the Christian standard from the west of Europe. There being, however, a much larger number of these than was required, they were embodied into a second corps, which assumed the name of Philhellenes. The organization and command of the regular troops were entrusted to General Normann, a distinguished German officer, who had just arrived from Marseilles with a number of volunteers.

It has already been stated that Ipsilanti and Nikitas had gone towards Zetouni: a second corps of three thousand men were sent to re-establish the blockade of Patrass, under Colocotroni: and a smaller body of troops was detached to Athens under the French Colonel Voutier, in order to reduce the Acropolis of that place. An addition was also made to the force before Napoli de Romania, and every precaution adopted to secure its blockade by sea. As to the garrisons of Modon and Coron, they continued to be closely invested by the armed peasantry of the neighbouring villages.

The commencement of the second campaign for the emancipation of Greece, was marked by an event, at once the most atrocious and terrific that the historians of the present age will have to record. It is scarcely necessary to name the desolation of Scio, and massacre of its ill-fated inhabitants. This fertile and beautiful island, the chosen asylum of modern Greek learning,

not less distinguished for the wealth and industry, than the hospitable urbanity of the natives, had long been singled out as an object of spoliation and vengeance by the infidels, who only waited for a pretext, no matter how trifling, to carry their nefarious design into execution. However painful the sensations may be, to which a recurrence to the above heart-rending tragedy, must give rise; a knowledge of the circumstances attending its perpetration is highly important, as enabling the most superficial observer to form a correct estimate of the great question at issue, between the Greeks and their oppressors; while a slight examination of the leading facts, will decide the merits of a charge, which has so frequently represented the followers of Christ as on a level with those of Mahomet, in point of their respective claims to forbearance and humanity during the contest.

The people of Scio had been remarkable for their peaceable habits and quiet submission to the Porte, ever since the capture of Constantinople, and although the inhabitants of a spot where education had made such rapid progress, could not be less interested in the regeneration of Greece, than the rest of their countrymen, yet, were there many causes to prevent them from taking any part in the revolt when it first broke out. The commercial relations of the island were more complicated and extensive than those

of any other part of the confederation; there being scarcely a capital of Europe without some establishments kept by Sciot merchants, while a very large portion of their wealth was locked up at Constantinople and Smyrna; the trade between these two cities, being almost exclusively conducted by them. Possessing such ample means of ministering to the avarice of their tyrants, the civil government had long been confided to the elders, whose administration was of the most paternal description. What with its palaces, country houses and gardens, its colleges and general state of improvement, Scio presented so striking a contrast to the other Islands of the Archipelago, that travellers could hardly be persuaded it was under the same dominion. No wonder, therefore, that such a picture of happiness and prosperity should have excited the hatred and jealousy of the infidels.

Occupied in their commercial pursuits, or in promoting the cultivation of learning and science, there was no attempt whatever made to participate in the revolution, so that the island remained perfectly tranquil, until the beginning of May, 1821, when the appearance of a small squadron of Ipsariots off the coast, furnished the Aga or military governor, with a pretence for commencing the same system of intolerable violence, which had been already extended to Mytilene, Rhodes, and Cyprus. One of the first measures now

adopted, was that of seizing forty of the elders and bishops, who were shut up in the Castle as hostages for the good conduct of the people. A large body of troops were brought from the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor; as in the other islands, the arrival of these lawless hordes was attended with every species of irregularity and excess. In addition to numerous assassinations, and plundering the most wealthy inhabitants, all the provisions that could be found were seized for the use of the garrison, while new imposts were levied to pay the troops and Pacha, who had led them to the island. It was not until Scio had been a whole year exposed to a system like the above, and when it seemed impossible any longer to bear up against it, that any attempt was made to rouse the people to resistance. Totally unprovided, however, as were the peasantry, either with arms or leaders, there is no doubt but they would have continued to suffer all the evils of their situation, had it not been for two adventurers named Burnia and Logotheti, who, without any previous communication with the provisional government, and merely to gratify views of personal ambition, concerted a plan of revolt. Landing from Samos on the 17th and 18th of March, at different points of the island, with a very small number of followers, they called upon the people to join them. Aware of the disastrous consequences which must follow this unexpected descent, the

elders who were still at large, made every effort to prevent the peasantry from taking any part in the insurrection. In the meanwhile, a strong detachment of cavalry were sent out by the Pacha, to oppose the Greeks, and on the 22nd the number of hostages already in the Citadel, were doubled, the victims being selected from the most opulent and distinguished inhabitants. Hearing on the following day, that another body of men had landed from Samos, the Pacha sent to ascertain whether they had been joined by the peasantry, and on being assured they had not, a considerable force was ordered to march against them.

The Turks set forward for this purpose, but perceiving that the Greeks determined to resist, they immediately retreated towards the town, pursued by the former, till they were at length forced to shut themselves up in the Castle: thus leaving the Greeks in full possession of the open country. Encouraged by their success, Burnia and Logotheti appealed once more to the people, and as matters had now gone so far, that it was impossible to retrograde, a few hundred peasants flocked to their standard, many of these being merely provided with sticks for their defence. Although the elders and primates who had not been imprisoned, continued to remonstrate against the conduct of Burnia and his coadjutor, they now saw the necessity of acceding to the

entreaties of all parties, that a local government should be established. A junta of twelve persons being named for this purpose, they began to make various requisitions, and to organize the means of securing the advantage which had been already achieved. It was, however, soon discovered, that there were really no means of arming the people to any extent, and that the expedition was itself but badly armed, as well as totally unprovided with cannon. Convinced, on the other hand, that union and perseverance could alone save them, several plans of organization were adopted, and had the Greek fleet anticipated the arrival of the Pacha, there was every reason to hope the inhabitants would have been enabled to prevent the catastrophe which followed his appearance. This event took place on the 23d of April, when a fleet of fifty sail, including five of the line, anchored in the bay, and immediately began to bombard the town, while several thousand troops were landed under the guns of the citadel, which also opened a heavy fire on the Greeks. It was in vain for the islanders to make any resistance: deserted by the Samians, most of whom embarked, and sailed away, when the Turkish fleet hove in sight, they were easily overpowered, and obliged to fly. From this moment, until the last direful act, Scio, lately so great an object of admiration to strangers, presented one continued scene of horror and dismay.

Having massacred every soul, whether men, women, or children, whom they found in the town, the Turks first plundered and then set fire to it, and watched the flames until not a house was left, except those of the foreign consuls. Three days had however been suffered to pass, before the infidels ventured to penetrate into the interior of the island, and even then, their excesses were confined to the low grounds. But there was ample scope on these, for gratifying their thirst for Christian blood. An eye-witness, who escaped as it were by a miracle, thus expressed himself in a letter to a friend, "O God! what a spectacle did Scio present on this lamentable occasion: on whatever side I cast my eyes, nothing but pillage, murder, and conflagration appeared. While some were occupied in plundering the villas of rich merchants, and others setting fire to the villages, the air was rent with the mingled groans of men, women, and children, who were falling under the swords and daggers of the infidels. The only exception made during the massacre, was in favour of young women and boys, who were preserved only to be afterwards sold as slaves. Many of the former, whose husbands had been butchered, were running to and fro frantic, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, pressing their trembling infants to their breasts, and seeking death as a relief from the still greater calamities that awaited them."

Above forty thousand of both sexes had already either fallen victims to the sword, or been selected for sale in the Bazaars, when it occurred to the Pacha, that no time should be lost in persuading those who had fled to the more inaccessible parts of the island to lay down their arms and submit. It being impossible to effect this by force, they had recourse to a favorite expedient with Mussulmen; that of proclaiming an amnesty. In order that no doubt should be entertained of their sincerity, the foreign consuls, more particularly those of England, France and Austria, were called upon to guarantee the promises of the Turks: they accordingly went forth, and invited the unfortunate peasantry to give up their arms and return. Notwithstanding their long experience of Turkish perfidy, the solemn pledge given by the consuls at length prevailed, and many thousands who might have successfully resisted until succours arrived, were sacrificed: for no sooner did they descend from the heights, and give up their arms, than the infidels, totally unmindful of the proffered pardon, put them to death without mercy. The number of persons of every age and sex who became the victims of this perfidious act was estimated at seven thousand.

After having devoted ten days to the work of slaughter, it was natural to suppose that the monsters who directed this frightful tragedy would

have been in some degrees satiated by the blood of so many innocent victims; but it was when the excesses had began to diminish on the part of the soldiery, that fresh scenes of horror were exhibited on board the fleet, and in the citadel. In addition to the women and children embarked for the purpose of being conveyed to the markets of Constantinople and Smyrna, several hundred of the natives were also seized, and among these, all the gardeners of the island, who were supposed to know where the treasures of their employers had been concealed. There were no less than five hundred of the persons thus collected hung on board the different ships; when these executions commenced, they served as a signal to the commandant of the citadel, who immediately followed the example, by suspending the whole of the hostages, to the number of seventy-six, on gibbets erected for the occasion. With respect to the numbers who were either killed or consigned to slavery, during the three weeks that followed the arrival of the Capitan Pacha, there is no exaggeration in placing the former at twenty-five thousand souls. It has been ascertained that above thirty thousand women and children were condemned to slavery, while the fate of those who escaped was scarcely less calamitous. Though many contrived to get off in open boats, or such other vessels as they could procure, thousands who were unable to do so,

wandered about the mountains, or concealed themselves in caves, without food or clothing for many days after the massacre had began to subside on the plains; among those who had availed themselves of the pretended amnesty, many families took refuge in the houses of the consuls, who were indeed bound by every tie of honour, and humanity, to afford them protection. It has, however, been asserted upon authority which cannot well be doubted, that the wretched beings thus saved from Mussulman vengeance, were obliged to pay large ransoms before they could leave the Island. Nay more, numbers of those who escaped the massacre, affirm, that it was extremely difficult to obtain even temporary protection under the Christian flags, without first gratifying the avaricious demands of those who conceived this appalling event a legitimate object of mercantile speculation.

As the massacre of Scio furnishes the best occasion presented by the war to establish a comparison between the conduct of the Greeks and their inexorable masters, it is of consequence to prove, that so far from the atrocities in that devoted island having been the result of these excesses in which a soldiery irritated by previous resistance, and sufferings have so frequently indulged, they originated in the cool and deliberate councils of the Divan. With respect to the provocations given by the Sciots, their fidelity to the

Porte had never been suspected before the revolution; and it has been ascertained beyond contradiction, that the number of those who joined the expedition from Samos did not exceed two thousand, while it is equally true, that the whole loss of the Turks during the ephemeral conflict did not amount to three hundred, and these fell in the skirmishes which took place between the opposing parties, as there was no instance of gratuitous cruelty on the part of the Greeks. The readiness with which the elders and primates gave themselves up as hostages, and their efforts to prevent the peasantry from joining Burnia and Logotheti, is an ample proof of their perfect innocence. Yet was it under all these circumstances, that a population of more than one hundred thousand souls was doomed to general destruction; not by an unbridled and undisciplined soldiery, stimulated by the opposition and privations attendant on a long siege, but by a positive order from a sovereign, and government, whose legitimacy had been solemnly proclaimed by the Christian potentates assembled at Laybach and Verona. That the whole of this terrific drama, had been got up at Constantinople, a variety of concurrent circumstances tend to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt. When the messenger who announced the descent from Samos reached the capital, it was decided in full Diwan, that the Capitan Pacha, whose preparations were still incomplete, should

sail with all possible dispatch, and take such measures with the people of Scio as would effectually prevent their joining the confederation. All the most opulent Sciot merchants resident in the capital were at the same time seized and thrown into prison as hostages. The fate of these unfortunate persons leaves no room whatever to doubt, that the proceedings at Scio were fully approved of at Constantinople; for it was immediately after the arrival of the Capitan Pacha in the former place, and when the steps he had taken must have been known, that the whole of them were impaled alive by a mandate from the Sultan himself.

With a thorough knowledge of all that had happened elsewhere, and while their brethren, the professors of a common faith, were writhing under the unutterable torments of such a death, surely the time had arrived when the Christian ambassadors were called upon by the voice of God and nature to interpose. Will posterity believe, that this interposition was withheld, or that while the ambassadors remained quietly at their posts, the lamentable catastrophe rung through Christian and civilized Europe, without exciting much more notice than the loss of an East Indiaman, or a trifling fall in the public funds?* When, however, posterity shall con-

* In answer to a question put by Mr. William Smith, the member for Norwich, to Lord Londonderry, in the House of Commons,

trast the indifference now betrayed, and the rancorous malignity with which the excesses of an infuriated and starving soldiery at Tripolizza were visited, and even alleged as a sufficient motive for abandoning the cause of Christ, it will most assuredly have but little cause to admire the social and political system of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Of all the errors laid to the charge of the naval chiefs of Greece, their delay in coming to the relief of Scio is unquestionably the best founded, as it is most to be lamented. This omission is doubly to be deplored, when it is consi-

relative to the massacre of the Sciot hostages, the latter merely replied, that, "a calamity had occurred, which had arisen out of the peculiar acts of barbarity perpetrated on both sides." The observations of Sir James Mackintosh on this occasion are well worthy of historical record. He asked "if despatches had been received from our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of the persons who had been murdered by the barbarian tyrants at Constantinople, had been under the protection of the British Minister, Lord Strangford, or had surrendered themselves to the Turks, under any pledge, promise or assurance of safety from that nobleman? He also asked whether it was mentioned in any of the recent despatches received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprices of barbarous Mahomedan voluptuaries? And finally, whether ministers could afford the nation any account of the new slave trade, established in the East, for the sale of amiable and accomplished Christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the administration of this free and enlightened country?"

dered, that the appearance of a squadron simultaneously with the Capitan Pacha, would have paralysed his operations and encouraged the inhabitants to greater resistance. Had the fleet arrived even after the slaughter commenced, there is every reason to believe, that a few well-directed fire ships could not fail taking effect on the Turkish ships, a great part of whose crews were employed in aiding to perpetrate the massacre on shore. From whatever cause it arose, the fleet did not arrive until the last week in May, when the catastrophe was already consummated. Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral, who commanded, had, however, the satisfaction of saving a great number of both sexes, who succeeded in escaping to the mountains.*

* The scene which presented itself to the Greek sailors who landed on the southern shores of Scio, was such as no pen could trace, no language could describe. The beach for several miles was strewed with the dead bodies of men, women, and children, many of whom were still warm and bathed in their own blood. Most of those taken on board had been wounded, and looked more like spectres than human beings. Mr. Hastings, a young Englishman of family, who was embarked on board Tombasi's ship, witnessed these horrors, and shuddered while he essayed to describe them to me at Tripolizza. An unhappy fugitive had informed my friend that he was one of two thousand who took refuge in a cavern on the coast, in the hope of concealing themselves. As, however, there was not space enough within for half the number, those who could not penetrate remained outside, many of them being obliged to stand up to their knees in water. It was while they were contending with each other to get into this imagined place of security,

Having rendezvoused at Ipsara, Tombasi was joined by a division from that island, when it was

that a party of Turks appeared on the rocks above their heads, and immediately began to fire down on them. Having thus dispatched all those who stood without, the infidels drew their attaghans, rushed into the cave, and also put every soul they found to death.

A French officer, who landed soon after the massacre, saw an infant clinging to the breast of its mother, a young and beautiful woman, whose lifeless corpse lay bleeding on the ground.

The situation of those who succeeded in getting to Ipsara was most deplorable, reaching that place without having any sustenance for many days, and almost naked, there were no means of providing for their wants in the island; so that thousands were obliged to sleep till the open air until they could obtain a passage to some other place. The separations of wives and husbands, brothers, sisters and children, which occurred in almost every family, was not the least agonizing part of the calamities now endured. While at Marseilles, on my way to Greece, I saw a lovely babe, who had been just brought to its, parents by the nurse, after having been given up as lost for many months. This faithful creature had fled to the mountains in the first days of the massacre, and wandered about, living on the herbs of the field, until at length Providence threw the means of escape in her way, and she was conveyed to a neighbouring island. The parents of the child had also fled, but happening to gain a different point of the coast, they departed in another direction, and had given up every hope of seeing their child, when he was thus restored to them.

Thousands of the Sciot women, remarkable throughout the Archipelago for their grace and beauty, continued to be exposed for sale both in the island and at Constantinople and Smyrna, for several months after the massacre. After detailing such scenes as the above, to which a thousand others, equally heart-rending, might be added, it becomes a matter of very trifling import to state, that the finest modern Greek library in existence, collected

decided that a combined effort should be made against the enemy's fleet. The two squadrons accordingly entered the channel which separates Scio from the Asiatic continent, but owing to light winds, they advanced so slowly, that the Turks had time to weigh their anchors and gain the open sea. The Greeks came up with them between Scio and Ipsara, and were preparing their fire-ships, when a gale of wind came on, and separated the hostile fleets. Meeting some days after, in the straits of Scio, the attempt to fire the enemy was again made, and though unsuccessful, it threw all the Turkish ships into the utmost confusion, and they could only escape the threatened danger by cutting their cables and running out to sea.

The sailing of an Egyptian squadron from Alexandria for the relief of Candia, where the inhabitants had recently made a most gallant stand, having obliged Tombasi to proceed towards that island, the second great naval triumph of the Greeks was destined to be achieved

at an immense expense, and comprising above sixty thousand volumes, was completely destroyed during the conflagration of the town. It is a coincidence worthy of remark, that it was the followers of Mahomet who burnt the grand Alexandrian library twelve centuries before. The glittering of the mathematical instruments saved them from being destroyed: these were a part of the booty, and taken to Smyrna, where they found a purchase in one of the French merchants resident there.

under the auspices of Miaouli, the most celebrated admiral of Greece. Fertile in expedients, and anxious to avenge some portion of the horrors committed at Scio, the modern Themistocles determined to adopt a stratagem, which, though extremely hazardous to those employed to carry it into effect, yet presented the greatest probabilities of success. Perceiving that the Turks were now on their guard, and prepared for the mode of attack practised by the Greeks, he directed two fire vessels, one from Ipsara, and the other a Hydriot, to sail alone; and when close to the coast of Asia Minor, they were to bear up towards the Turkish fleet, and keep near the shore, as if they were merchant ships bound to Smyrna. They were thus allowed to pass the look-out ships unmolested, and sailing boldly into the midst of the fleet, which were at anchor in Scio roads, both their commanders laid a Turkish line of battle ship on board. One of the latter contrived to disengage herself, but the Ipsariot, under the intrepid Canari, took full effect, and he had the glory of destroying the Capitan Pacha's ship, together with the monster himself and all his crew. The ship was loaded with the spoils of Scio, and it is to be feared that many Greek women and children perished in her. This event happening at such a time, was attributed to the interposition of a special providence by the

people of Greece,* for had the Turkish fleet been enabled either to co-operate with the Egyptian squadron sent against Candia, or with the army which invaded the Morea, it is impossible to calculate what the consequences might have been. Fortunately for the christians, the infidels were panic-struck, and fled to the Dardanelles, where some weeks were unavoidably lost in preparing to resume their operations by sea.

* By a singular coincidence, the Acropolis of Athens surrendered to the troops under Colonel Voutier on the same day that the Capitan Pacha was destroyed at Scio.

CHAPTER XI.

COLOCOTRONI marches to Patrass.—Action before that Place.—Meeting of the Greek and Turkish Squadrons.—Preparations of Chourshid Pacha.—Error of the Congress at Epidaurus.—Plan of Prince MAVROCORDATO: he departs for Messolunghi.—Colocotroni raises the Blockade of Patrass.—Invasion of the Morea by Machmout Pacha of Drama.—The Members of the Executive embark.—Firmness of Colocotroni.—Operations on the Plain of Argos.—Corinth is abandoned by the Greeks.—Gallant Conduct of Demetrius IPSILANTI.—Retreat of the Turkish Army: it is attacked in the Passes.—Return of the Executive to Lerna.—Events near Corinth.—The Dervenachi are occupied by Colocotroni and Nikitas.—Privations and Sufferings of the Greeks, contrasted with those of the Turks.—Capture of NAPOLI DI ROMANIA.—Forbearance and Moderation of the Greeks.—Arrival of the Cambrian Frigate, and generous Conduct of Captain HAMILTON.—Affair at Akrata.

WHILE the provisional government was sedulously occupied in preparing for the approaching campaign at Corinth, an event occurred which rendered it necessary to send Colocotroni with a

force of three thousand men towards Patrass: this was the arrival of a division of the Turkish fleet which had sailed from the Hellespont before the Capitan Pacha; it consisted of six large frigates, and above fifty transports and smaller vessels, the whole filled with troops, which were landed at Patrass in the latter end of February. Colocotroni arrived before the walls soon after they had been disembarked.

On perceiving his approach, the Turks quitted their position, and went in pursuit of the Greeks with nearly the whole of their force. Apprehensive that his detachment was unequal to cope with such numbers, Colocotroni retreated towards the mountains, closely pursued by the enemy; and when in a situation where his men could act with advantage, he suddenly halted, harangued the troops, upon which they immediately turned round and advanced towards the infidels; the latter, supposing that reinforcements had by this time appeared in sight, became panic-struck in their turn, and were followed sword in hand by the Greeks to the very walls of Patrass: the result of this affair was, that five hundred of the enemy were slain in less than two hours.* On seeing the kind of troops he had to contend with, the Greek

* A French officer, M. de le Villasse, whose name has already appeared, was present at this affair:—he states, that on approach-

chieftain now took up a position close to the town, and established a rigorous blockade.

Miaouli and Tombasi having pursued the infidel squadron with a division of the Greek fleet, attacked them as they were quitting the waters of Patrass on the 3rd of March, and but for a heavy gale that separated the ships, there was a confident expectation that the frigate of the Turkish admiral would have fallen into the hands of the Greeks, as a close running fight was maintained between her and Tombasi's small ship of twenty guns for some time, and he would have been ultimately laid on board, but for the boisterous state of the weather.

Notwithstanding the large force collected before Yanina, and in other parts of Epirus, the Greeks under Marco Bozzaris and Rango had gained many advantages, and taken Arta, after a desperate struggle on the 5th of December. This was a highly important point to the patriots; but owing to the treason of a chief named Tairabos, it was abandoned, the Greek leaders conceiving themselves too weak to resist the forces which might be sent against them by Chourshid Pacha. The necessity of thus giving up the key of Albania was a great misfortune for the Hellenists, and

ing the walls of Patrass during the pursuit, some Turks cried out, "Why do you kill our brethren, don't you know they were forced to come here from Constantinople?"

could not fail to expose Acarnania to the incursions which were made not long after.

While Odysseus and his brave companions were endeavouring to check the progress of the enemy in Livadia and Negropont, the recent discomfiture of the Greek population at Cassandra and Mount Athos placed such a force at their disposal, that they were enabled to advance once more, and even reinforce the garrison of Athens.

The tyrant of Yanina's fall had placed such abundant resources in men and money at the disposal of Chourshid Pácha, that he was enabled to concert a plan of operations, which, if carried into execution with an ordinary portion of skill must have led to the total destruction of the Greek cause. One of the errors attributed to the Congress of Epidaurus, was that of its omitting to name any of the chiefs who had commenced the insurrection to situations in the new government. Although this arose from the excessive jealousy entertained by the Greeks, of giving too great an ascendency in civil affairs to military men, it would perhaps have been prudent to waive this objection in the present case; at all events there is little doubt but it produced a considerable degree of indifference on the part of some of the leaders.

Aware of the consequences which must ensue, were Chourshid Pacha and his lieutenants quietly

permitted to organize their projects in Albania, Mavrocordato had long thought of a plan, which if it did not frustrate the designs of the enemy, would at least operate as a powerful diversion in favour of the Peloponnesus. The object he had in view, was an expedition into Epirus, which should establish the new system of government in western Greece; draw the attention of the Turks from the Morea; relieve the brave Souliotes, who were defending themselves in Kiapha, with their wonted heroism, and carry the war into the very heart of Albania. The conception was excellent, and had there been adequate means of carrying it into effect, this project must have been crowned with entire success. Even with all the disadvantages opposed to the Prince, it will hereafter be seen that his operations were productive of highly important consequences to the safety of the confederation.

Having communicated his plan to the members of the executive, it was greatly applauded, and an arrangement was made, by which five thousand men should be immediately appropriated to this service, and placed at the disposal of the president, who determined to lead the expedition in person. Owing, however, to the number of troops detached in different directions, the only force he could now avail himself of, was the battalion of Philhellenes and the first regiment of the line, neither of which bodies was by any means com-

plete. With these, the Prince set out from Corinth accompanied by General Norman and Kiriakouli, who had seven hundred men under his orders: these were more particularly destined to relieve the Souliotes. The expedition was to be joined by fifteen hundred men from the army before Patrass. The Prince arrived there on the 12th of June, and was received by Colocotroni with every demonstration of joy; but such were the difficulties the latter opposed to allowing any part of his troops to be detached, that the expedition was compelled to depart without the promised assistance. Embarking next day on board a small Greek squadron which had been waiting near Patrass for the purpose, Mavrocordato landed at Messolunghi with only a few hundred men, while Kiriakouli and his party proceeded northwards, in order to be disembarked as near Kiapha as circumstances would admit.

While the above-named chiefs were pursuing their arduous task in Epirus, a storm was gathering in Thessaly, which the cowardice and incapacity of the infidels alone prevented from rendering the triumph of the Hellenists a matter of extreme uncertainty. As a large force had been for some time collecting at Lairissa and Zetouni, nothing but the confidence entertained by Mavrocordato, that the appearance of a corps in Acarnania would counteract the projects of the enemy, would have justified his absence at such

a moment. For though the virtuous and patriotic Canacari*, who remained to superintend the administration of affairs as Vice-president, was greatly esteemed by the people, his means were inadequate to give efficiency to the plans of government. One of the immediate effects of thus weakening the executive, was to enable those chiefs who had been dissatisfied with the arrangements at Epidaurus, to betray their indifference to the new system with the greater impunity.

The first glaring manifestation of discontent among the chiefs, was made by Colocotroni, who suddenly raised the blockade of Patrass on the 6th of July without orders, and proceeded with the whole of his forces to Tripolizza, thus leaving the Turkish garrison at liberty either to penetrate into the Morea, or cross the gulph of Lepanto. Although this unexpected movement excited great astonishment, as well as the displeasure of the government, it is not improbable that Colocotroni might have had a suspicion of what was about to happen; for he had scarcely been a week in his new quarters, before the intelligence arrived that: a Turkish army had passed the great *Dervenachi*, or defiles, and

* Greece has since had to deplore the loss of this most excellent man. He died at Castries in January, 1823—after having devoted a long life to the grand object of the regeneration of his country. The death of Athanasius Canacari was universally and deeply lamented: nor will it be easy to supply the place of so inestimable a citizen.

had advanced to the walls of Corinth. Here, it should be observed, that the seat of government had been transferred to Argos, soon after the departure of Mavrocordato, and a small garrison had been left to defend the Acropolis. The exact force of the enemy was not known, but from the nature of the information communicated, it must have been very considerable. The arrival of this news, at a moment when so little progress had been made in the military organization, and the executive had no money to pay the troops, was well calculated to create alarm. The conduct of Colocotroni was, however, marked by the greatest firmness and presence of mind, while his subsequent efforts and success fully entitled this chief to the gratitude of his country. Not doubting but that the relief of Napoli di Romania was a grand object with the enemy, he determined to march towards that place, but on preparing to depart, the utmost force he could muster did not exceed two thousand men. Forming this small corps into two divisions, he sent the largest, consisting of twelve hundred men, towards Corinth under the command of his most confidential officer Coliopulo, to occupy the passes between that place and Argos; while the remainder was destined to act under his own immediate orders. Messengers were dispatched on every side to recall the troops who had retired to cultivate their fields or visit their families. Coloco-

troni proceeded to Argos, where he only found Demetrius Ipsilanti with little more than three hundred men, the members of the executive having thought it expedient to embark, and to proceed to a neighbouring island, when they heard of the enemy's approach. The consternation which now spread throughout the Peloponnesus was greatly increased by the abandonment of Corinth and its re-occupation by the infidels. Whether it arose from the want of means or of foresight, that important point had not been supplied with provisions. There was indeed but too much reason to conclude, that the person who had been left in command there, added pusillanimity to treason, having fled on the approach of the Turks, without making any attempt to defend the post confided to his charge.* There is perhaps no act of the

* The individual entrusted with the defence of Corinth, was a Papas of Hydra, who had like many other priests taken up arms when the revolution broke out. Previous to his evacuation of the Acrocorinthus, he caused Kiamel Bey to be dispatched, for having, as some persons assert, kept up a secret correspondence with the enemy; and according to others, because the Turkish chief persisted in refusing to disclose where his treasures were concealed. With respect to these, it is said that his wife, whose life was preserved, and whom Machmout Pacha married after his retreat from the plain of Argos, made the above important discovery to her new husband.

Whatever may have been the motive for putting Kiamel Bey to death, he had no claims to the pity of a people over whom he had exercised a system of the most flagitious tyranny ever practised in the Morea, where his name is held in deserved execration. Be-

new government, which has been so much censured, as its omitting to secure Corinth against re-capture; and the error became still more apparent from it being well known, that a very small garrison would have been sufficient for its defence against all the power of Turkey. Had the Greeks retained this place, it is probable that Machmout Pacha would not have passed the Isthmus; the chiefs would, at all events, have had more time to prepare for his reception. But Providence seems on this, as well as on other occasions, to have taken the Greeks under its special protection, so that their very faults proved advantageous to them in the end.

It was thus that Colocotroni's sudden departure from Patrass, which might have been productive of such serious consequences, now enabled him to reach the plain of Argos, just as his presence was above all things necessary. Nothing could be more embarrassing or alarming, than the situation of Ipsilanti and himself at this moment, without money or provisions, and having scarcely

sides his innumerable other exactions from the ill-fated Greeks, a regular corvée or forced labour was established throughout the Pachialic for the personal benefit of the tyrant. Like most of the Pachas, he was the greatest trader in the province, and a most determined forestaller of corn. No stronger proof can be given of the state of the Greek peasantry under their late rulers, than the incontestible fact, that Kiamel Bey made a common practice of obliging them to receive the old wheat remaining unsold in his own granaries, in exchange for that which they had just reaped.

thirteen hundred men, to oppose to an army of thirty thousand, which was the number said to be advancing towards the plain. In this state of things, Ipsilanti, with a degree of courage and resolution which did him the highest honor, threw himself into the ruined citadel of Argos, there to impede the progress of the enemy, while Colocotroni entrenched himself at Lerna a strong position on the western shore of the gulph, and waited the arrival of reinforcements from Maina, Arcadia and other points.

Several small detachments of the enemy were seen descending into the plain from Corinth, on the 20th of July, upon which, the numerous villages that cover its prolific surface, were immediately abandoned by the inhabitants: and in two days after, the first column, composed of seven thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, came in sight, and halted about three miles from Argos. A part of this division was observed to file off towards Napoli di Romania, with which place a negociation for capitulating had been commenced fifteen days before, and even hostages had been exchanged as a preliminary to its surrender. No sooner however did the Turkish Commandant perceive the approach of his friends, than he sent to break off the treaty, requesting that the Turks might be liberated, as he was himself prepared to give up the Greeks.

The precaution having been taken of destroying

or carrying off whatever could be of use to the enemy, more especially corn and forage of every kind, the Turks who expected large supplies of wheat, from the produce of the recent harvest; and other booty, found nothing but the bare walls of the villages and churches standing; they attempted to ascend to the citadel, where the christian banner was displayed, but were immediately repulsed. Machmout had arrived by this time, with a second column of ten thousand men, cavalry and infantry, so that, as far as numbers were considered, the Greeks had ample cause of alarm. Contrary, however, to general expectation, the Pacha, who was accompanied by Ali Bey, the governor of Napoli di Romania, entered that fortress, and remained there several days without a single movement on the part of his army, or indeed seeming to have any decided plan of operation in view. The Greeks were by no means so inactive. Colocotroni continued to strengthen his position at Lerna, while the number of his troops increased daily, and soon amounted to eight thousand men, On the appearance of the second division of the enemy, Ipsilanti prepared to quit the Acropolis, which was entirely destitute of water, and as the object of checking the Turks had been fully attained, his presence was no longer necessary. The retreat was effected in a very masterly style; for though surrounded by detachments of the enemy, Prince

Demetrius profiting by an interval of darkness, left the dilapidated position which he had so well maintained, and succeeded in joining the main body at Lerna, without losing a man.

When there had been sufficient time for the Greeks to look around them, and send out reconnoitring parties, the state of affairs assumed a much less terrific aspect than at first. It was soon found, that so far from having brought supplies to the starving garrison of Napoli, the infidels had advanced without any means of subsistence for themselves. Nothing could be more characteristic of the Turkish military system, than this omission. They might have readily imagined, that the Greeks would not suffer the produce of the harvest to fall into their hands, while it was equally certain, there was not a blade of grass to be procured at this season of the year. To render the fatality which seemed to await the enemy still more complete, Machmout had not left a single detachment to guard any of the defiles through which he had entered the Morea.

Threatened with all the horrors of famine and drought, which had already began to make considerable ravages among the Turks, the Pacha seemed at length to awake from his lethargy, and quitting Napoli, followed by a numerous suite, gave orders for their preparing to return towards Corinth. It is needless to say, with

what alacrity these orders were obeyed. The whole camp was instantly on the alert, and no sooner were the camels laden with the baggage, than the infidel army set forward in great disorder. Minutely informed of what was passing on the plain, by their out-posts, the chiefs at Lerna had already sent off detachments by a mountain path-way, so as to overtake the enemy's columns as they entered the defiles between Corinth and Mycene. Colocotroni himself advanced with the main body the moment he perceived that the Turks were in motion; while a part of the troops employed before Napoli, advanced on their right flank. These movements were so well contrived and executed, that the enemy, whose rear-guard had suffered severely on the first day's march, was attacked with such impetuosity on the second, that not less than five thousand were destroyed in the course of a few hours. And had it not been that many of the Greek soldiery, paid more attention to the loaded camels, than to the fugitives, the loss of the Turks would have been much greater. The fate of the advanced guard was little better than that of their companions. On reaching the defiles near Corinth, they were met by the Mainotes, dispatched from Lerna, under Nikitas, and attacked so furiously, that above twelve hundred of them perished in the first onset. Many more were killed in trying to force the passes. A great quantity of

baggage and a number of horses fell into the hands of the Greeks. These memorable successes occurred between the 4th and 7th of August. Some of the foreign volunteers who were present during this retreat, have expressed their astonishment at the tranquil manner in which the Turks, both infantry and cavalry, suffered themselves to be cut down without making the smallest resistance, as if they had looked upon themselves as consigned to death by some supernatural power.

Having collected the remnant of his army under the walls of Corinth, and been joined by the reserves left there, Machmout Pacha made a movement on the 18th, with the seeming view of resuming the offensive and marching towards Argos; the real object of this movement, was, however, to draw the Greeks, who had been watching him, into an ambuscade. Aware of his intentions in time, the Greeks, instead of attempting to impede him, got into his rear, when the Turks attacked them, but owing to the advantageous position taken up by the Greeks, the enemy was again repulsed with great loss. A still more bloody affair took place on the following day. Determined to regain the position they had abandoned, the Turkish troops were headed by Hadji Ali, second in command to Machmout; this officer, one of the bravest of the Ottoman army, was killed while encouraging his men. In the above desperate effort, the enemy lost nearly two thou-

sand men, together with a large quantity of baggage and several hundred horses.

The blockade of Napoli di Romania was now renewed, with increased vigilance, and Ipsilanti proceeded to reinforce the garrison of Athens, lest other divisions of the enemy should advance towards that place. Ali Bey had retained the five hundred cavalry which he brought to strengthen the garrison of Napoli: but with the exception of a small quantity of grain found concealed in some parts of the plain, during its recent occupation, his stock of provisions was exhausted.

After the successes between Corinth and Argos, Colocotróni collected the whole of his troops, within a short distance of the former place, and leaving them under the direction of Coliopulo, with orders to watch the shattered remains of Machmout's army, he went on to Tripolizza, to concert with the Senate, which had been formed after the embarkation of the executive, relative to the subsistence of the troops and vigorous prosecution of the campaign.

The members of the government, who had never left the gulph, disembarked at Lerna in the beginning of September. The reasons given for their withdrawing were by no means satisfactory to the soldiery: it was alleged that by remaining on shore, they had no means whatever of adding to the resources of the Morea, or contributing to

its defence, whereas the influence of the military chiefs neutralized all their power there. On the other hand, there was no doubt, that in retiring, they were enabled not only to communicate their decrees to the different points of the confederation, but could appeal with more effect to the naval islands for succour and support. However conclusive these reasons might have been to the less partial observer, they did not prevent a number of ill-natured remarks more particularly on the part of Colocotroni, who was loudest in his censures, and from having performed so conspicuous a part in gaining the late victory, naturally thought himself entitled to all the honors of the triumph. Hence arose an altercation which prevented the executive from resuming their functions for some weeks: to this circumstance may also be traced a great deal of that jealousy between the civil and military authorities, which has, on more than one occasion, retarded the interests of the confederation since the above period.

As it happened in almost every other instance of success, the Greeks had no means of following up the events of July and August, 1822. Finding that the enemy did not attempt to approach Athens, Ipsilanti returned to the Morea, and together with Nikitas, advanced towards Napoli, to assist in the reduction of that fortress. The troops left under Coliopulo, not being regularly supplied with rations nor receiving any pay,

became so tired of the service, in which they were engaged, that the greatest part withdrew; merely leaving Colocotroni's eldest son, a brave and promising young officer, with two or three hundred men to maintain the blockade of Corinth. As there was still a body of three thousand men, of whom two thirds were cavalry, encamped under the walls, the situation of young Colocotroni was now very critical, and he had certain information that the Turks were preparing to march at all hazards to the relief of Napoli. They did succeed in sending a small detachment, which gained the fortress unobserved by the troops before Corinth, or those employed in the blockade of Napoli. The latter were, however, in general extremely vigilant, as, excepting a convoy of fifty mules laden with grain, that contrived to steal across the plain of Argos and enter the citadel in the night and during a heavy storm, the exertions of the Greeks were so unremitted, that whoever attempted to leave or approach the walls, was almost sure of being intercepted. It was thus, that nearly all the cavalry brought by Ali Bey, were cut off in detail, during their attempts to obtain supplies.

The time had however now approached, when the garrison of Napoli could no longer hope for relief on the side of Corinth. Colocotroni, who had succeeded in making arrangements for the more regular subsistence of the troops, uniting

his forces with those under Nikitas, marched to the passes near the Isthmus with a determination not to abandon them before Napoli surrendered. He had not been many days here, before the Turks advanced with the intention of forcing the passes, but finding the Greeks posted on each side, they halted, when a parley ensued. After much recrimination and abuse on both sides, the infidels closed the conference, by asking how long the Greeks intended to remain in their present position, and on being answered "until you dislodge us," they immediately retired; a scarcity of ammunition joined to his resolution of not quitting the fastnesses, prevented Colocotroni from pursuing the Turks on this occasion. The sufferings and privations of the Greek soldiers, whether employed before Napoli or in the passes, during November and the following month, were of the most harassing description. They had no shelter whatever at night, though exposed to the piercing cold and incessant storms, which prevail on the mountains of Greece at this period, and without any other covering than the rude Albanian mantle: while the daily ration of each man did not exceed half a pound of the coarsest bread. Those stationed at the *Dervenachi*, were frequently obliged to march over rocks and inaccessible crags from day-light till dark, and not unfrequently during the night. Nor was the situation of the blockading force before Napoli,

much better: it was very rare for these to have their arms out of their hands, while they were either exposed to chilling blasts on the heights or inundated with rain on the plain below. It is true, the sufferings of the Greeks here were trifling when compared with those of the Turkish garrison, which had been reduced to the last extremity of want, for some weeks before its capitulation. Nor was it until all the horses were consumed, and that many of the wretched soldiery were driven to the horrible necessity of subsisting on the carcases of their fellow-sufferers, that those charged with the defence of the Palamida, or citadel, built by the Venetians on a mountain which overlooks the town, suffered themselves to be surprised by a party of Greeks, without making the least resistance. On scaling the wall, there were not more than thirty men found in that part of the fortress, and these had nearly the appearance of skeletons. Hearing that the Greeks had entered, the remainder of the Turks descended into the town by a covered way. Notwithstanding the dreadful condition of the garrison, Ali Bey hesitated to enter into terms, even after he discovered that the Palamida had been carried. But there was now no choice between immediate destruction and surrendering. The gates were therefore opened, on condition that the lives of the prisoners should be saved, and that they should be transported to the coast of Asia Minor,

by the provincial government. Pursuant to the terms thus arranged, the Greeks took possession of this highly important place, on the 11th of January, the anniversary of St Andreas, the patron saint of the Morea, a circumstance which could not fail greatly to enhance the value of the triumph, in the eyes of the people.

Measures were immediately taken to procure ships from the islands for the transport of the garrison, agreeable to the terms of the capitulation; but Captain Hamilton of His Majesty's ship Cambrian, happening to anchor in the bay, and perceiving the deplorable state of the Turks, exposed to an inclement season, without any means of existence, determined to receive them on board. Being accordingly embarked, and having experienced all those kind offices, from the officers and crew of the frigate, which religion and humanity dictated, they were soon after landed at Scula Nova. The conduct of the Greeks in not offering the smallest violence or committing any excesses towards the garrison of Napoli, though it had been for several days in their power, previous to the arrival of the British ship, proves at least, that they were not so insensible to the sentiments of compassion and mercy as their detractors have so often asserted. Without dwelling on the meritorious conduct of the Greeks, in this case, it may well be asked, what would have been the fate of a Christian garrison,

thus taken by the Turks in a place that had held out as long as Napoli di Romani?

The surrender of Napoli led to another triumph on the part of the Greeks, destined to form the last portion of that terrible fate which had awaited the army of Machmout Pacha. The object of the division which remained at Corinth, being to relieve the garrison of the above place; there was no longer any motive for its continuance there. Want of provisions had, besides, rendered a change of position absolutely necessary. The Turkish commanders therefore determined to march towards Patrass, the blockade of which place had been lately neglected by the Greeks. Setting out about the middle of January, with nearly three thousand men, of whom a large portion was cavalry, they had only advanced as far as Akrata, near Vostizza, when Lunda, who was returning from Messolunghi with a small body of troops, appeared on a height through which the road lay, while the infidels were reposing in a deep valley, and thus suddenly stopped their progress. There being no attempt made to force a passage, the Greek general had ample time to send off expresses for reinforcements, and was shortly joined by Petmezza another distinguished chief, who occupied the opposite side of the valley. A new scene of horror was thus prepared for the devoted Turkish soldiers. Their scanty stock of bread being exhausted, they began to feed on

the horses; when the whole of these were devoured, recourse was had to the herbs which grew on the surrounding rocks; having subsequently attempted to derive sustenance from their saddles, they were at last obliged to follow the shocking example furnished at Malvasia and Napoli. The blockade continued for nearly three weeks, when Odysseus, who had joined the other chiefs with about two hundred men, chanced to recognise an old acquaintance in one of the two beys who commanded the Turks: negotiations were entered into, by which those, who survived, obtained permission to embark, on condition of giving up their arms and effects. The beys were however conducted to Napoli di Romania as prisoners, and have been detained there ever since, without any effort being made by the Porte, either for their ransom or exchange. The number of Turks who perished thus miserably without firing a shot or drawing a sword in their defence, was estimated at two thousand. No apprehensions could be entertained from those who escaped, for they were nearly dying, when embarked on the gulph of Lepanto.

Such was the termination of the second campaign in the Morea; and upon the results of which, the Porte fondly calculated on restoring its iron sway over Greece. Instead, however, of realizing this hope, the loss of the Turks, whether by famine or the sword, could not be less than

twenty-five thousand men in the Peloponnesus alone, while the total want of those military talents which enabled their predecessors to enter Europe in the fifteenth century, and their utter worthlessness as a political power, were never more strongly exemplified.

CHAPTER XII.

OPERATIONS in ACARNANIA.—State of the Province.—MAVROCORDATO assumes the offensive.—Affair at COMBATTI.—The Traitor Gogo.—MARCO BOZZARIS.—BATTLE of PETA.—Retreat of the Greeks.—CALAMOS.—Defection of Varnachiotti.—Death of KIRIAKOULI.—OMER VRIONI advances —The Passes are occupied by the Greeks.— Retreat to Messolunghi.—State of the Town, arrival of the Turkish Army before that place.—Preparations of the Greeks to defend themselves.—Perilous state of the garrison.—Succours arrive.—Departure of Mavromichalis.—General assault by the Turks.—They are repulsed with great loss.—Precipitate Retreat of the Enemy.—He is pursued to the ACHERON.—Passage of that River.—Civil and Military organization of the Province.—Mavrocordato returns to the Morea.

THOUGH on a much smaller scale, the operations in Epirus were scarcelyless interesting than those of the Peloponnesus, since it was owing to the perseverance and gallantry of the chief employed in directing the former, that the enemy were prevented from invading the Morea from the north.

The state of anarchy and confusion in which Mavrocordato found Acarnania and Etolia, was more than sufficient to damp the ardour of an ordinary mind; but aware of the consequences which depended on his efforts, the Prince determined to bear up against every difficulty. Having collected all the troops he could find at Messolunghi, and incorporated them into the newly organized levies, the whole did not amount to two thousand men, being less than half the number first proposed. With this force he however took the field, and having passed the Acheron, or Aspropotamos as it is now called, in the latter end of June, proceeded through Loutraki, towards the defiles of Macrinoros, where the Greeks could easily defend themselves and arrange a more extended plan of attack, according as their numbers should encrease. The Turks, who were posted in far superior force at Cambotti, attacked the left, occupied by a part of the first regiment, on the 2d of July. The new system of tactics was now put into execution with such effect, that the enemy was soon forced to retreat, having been pursued to some distance by the Philhellenes, with a loss of thirty men in killed and wounded. Several days had been passed here, during which there were frequent skirmishes with the Turkish Cavalry. Such was the success attending these, that the Greeks considered it no longer necessary to confine themselves to the defensive, and as the siege

of Kiapha was carrying on with great vigour by a large body of Albanians, Marco Bozzaris who had accompanied the Prince, expressed so much anxiety to go to the relief of his brave countrymen, and such confidence in the success of the enterprise, that he was at length allowed to set forward, with six hundred men, although the reinforcements had not yet arrived. In order to support this movement, the main body under General Norman, advanced to the village of Peta, while the Prince continued his rounds to the neighbouring districts, for the purpose of reconciling jarring interests, arming the people and procuring the necessary supplies. Had the Greeks been aware of the numbers of the enemy, they would never have adopted the above plan; of which the imprudence soon became apparent; but they were deceived by the representations of an old Annatolian chief, named Gogo, whose subsequent conduct proved him to have been in communication with the Turks. The enemy having been secretly advised by Gogo, of the march of Bozzaris, attacked him at Placa, compelled him to fall back and retreat to the mountains. The separation of the forces, which were already so inferior to those of the enemy, could not fail to expose the small corps at Peta to the general attack, which now took place.

The village of Peta is within a few miles of Arta, and built in a hollow, on each side of which rise two

lofty heights, renders the position very strong. The Philhellenes were posted on the right where the attack was expected to commence, and had two small pieces of mountain artillery. The first regiment, under Colonel Tarella, was placed in the centre, while a small corps of Cephalonians, commanded by Spirro Pauno, occupied the left. The remainder amounting to about eight hundred Greeks, under Gogo, were posted in the village and on the height in its rear. The Turks were seen marching out of Arta at daylight on the morning of July the 16th. Their number was estimated at above six thousand men, of whom twelve hundred were Cavalry. The latter took up several positions on the right, so as to intercept all communication with Combatti and cut off the retreat of the Hellenists. The attack was commenced by a large body of Albanians, who rushed forward with loud shouts and waving of banners; they were, however, received with such a brisk fire by the Philhellenes, that great numbers fell before they could reach the entrenchments. The fire of musketry had been maintained for above two hours, in the course of which time the Greeks had scarcely lost a man, while hundreds of the Albanians were strewed over the field, when it was reported that Gogo had abandoned the village, and fled with all his followers, thus enabling the Turks to turn the right flank of the Greeks. Having ascended the height in their rear, the

Cephalonians, who had acted nobly, were overpowered and driven back on the regiment of Tarilla; when the Philhellenes also, unable to resist the torrent, were in their turn forced to give way, and abandon the position. The ground was immediately covered by the whole of the Turkish infantry, when a desperate conflict ensued; once broken, it was impossible with such a disparity of numbers, to rally the troops, so that those who attempted to escape could only do so over the dead bodies of the enemy. Many of the officers and men performed prodigies of valour; amongst others, the names of Dania, Tarella, Chauvassin, Heusmaun, and Migniac, were more particularly distinguished. The latter is said to have laid ten men at his feet, before he fell: the brave Colonel Tarella and Dania were also among the killed, as were many others whose names deserve a lasting record for their heroism on this occasion. General Norman, who commanded, was amongst the wounded, and escaped with difficulty. Having at length succeeded in gaining that part of the mountain, which was inaccessible to the enemy's cavalry, those who escaped the carnage returned to the small village of Langado. Mavrocordato who was some leagues from the scene of action, did not hear of the enemy's advance, until within a few hours of the attack; and owing to the messenger having arrived in the night, some time was necessarily required to put the few men he had with him in mo-

tion. Setting out at day-break, he had not marched far before a second express apprised him of the disastrous result of the battle; upon which, there was no alternative but to return and form a junction with the remains of the army collected at Langado. On mustering their forces, it was found that the loss in killed did not exceed two hundred, of whom nearly one fourth were officers. This loss fell infinitely short of what was anticipated, for besides the great disparity as to numbers, the manner in which they had been surrounded on every side, seemed to render the retreat quite impossible. From Langado, the troops proceeded to Acracori, having left parties behind to watch the passes of Macrinoros. The only use made of their victory by the enemy, was to occupy Vonizza on the southern shores of the gulph of Arta.

The advance to Vonizza was merely preparatory to an expedition which Reschid Pacha, who had recently arrived with four thousand Asiatics, intended to command in person, for the purpose of putting down the insurrection in Acarnania; the jealousies which had arisen between this chief and Omer Vrioni, were however favorable to the Greeks, and gave them time to recover from the effects of the disaster at Peta. With respect to the Albanians, they wished for nothing so much as delay and as it was well known that they merely served the Porte as mercenaries, without feeling any interest in the success of the war,

there is little doubt but these bands would have been as content to receive a bribe from one party as the other.

But notwithstanding the inactivity of the enemy, the situation of the Greeks had now become extremely embarrassing: the recent check, in which their best troops had been beaten, created such a panic among the inhabitants, that several thousands sought refuge in the mountains; while the more helpless portion of the community fled to the desert island of Calamos. The alarm was not a little increased by the arrival of the Capitan Pacha, with a formidable fleet, at Patrass. It was truly fortunate, therefore, that Reschid Pacha did not act with more energy, as a well combined movement might have enabled him to complete what had been commenced at Arta, to overrun the province with the utmost facility. To crown these causes of terror, it was reported that the army of Machmout Pacha had succeeded in destroying the government in the Morea, and reconquered the whole country. What with the loss at Peta and the panic that followed, the utmost force now united to resist the threatened dangers, did not exceed a thousand men, while that of the enemy, which had passed on to Vonizza, was more than four thousand. The Greeks, however, took post at Catouna, in order to guard the passes leading into the plains of Acarnania.

It was while matters were in this state of doubt

and alarm, that the system of neutrality, established by the late Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands, was manifested in a manner which requires to be placed on record. As those who took refuge in Calamos, consisted almost exclusively of old men, women, and children, it was not likely that their presence on a desolate rock, which had never been thought of sufficient importance to require even a military post before the present contest, could tend in any way to violate the neutrality; while the wretched condition of the fugitives, without food or raiment, was such as to excite pity and commiseration in the most obdurate heart. An officer was however dispatched to drive the wretched beings who thus sought an asylum from British clemency away, and they were accordingly forced to retrace their steps into Acarnania, without house or home, or the means of subsistence; for every thing had been destroyed or plundered by the Turks, previous to their flight: indeed many of the fugitives, among whom were the most beautiful women of Arta and Yanina, had been unable to bring off their children. When it is added that on leaving Calamos, these unhappy victims considered the whole country as being in full possession of the infidels, and that consequently, certain death awaited their return, some notion may be formed of their situation at this crisis.

Whatever may have been the motive that dic-

tated an act, upon which it would be superfluous to make any comment; it had the effect of rousing the Acarnanians to a keener sense of their danger, and owing to the fears awakened for the safety of their families, numbers of the peasantry who had concealed themselves in the mountains, now flocked to Catouna, where the Greek force was soon doubled. Mavrocordato, who had established his head-quarters at Vracori, in order to keep up the communication with Messolunghi and the Peleponnesus, as well as to watch the motions of the Turkish fleet, gave the command of this small corps, to a chief named Varnachiotti, a man whom the wealth and influence which he possessed in the province, rendered it necessary to conciliate, but who like the infamous Gogo, was also destined ere long to betray his country and pass over to the enemy. There was both in the present conduct and former history of this traitor, great reason to suspect his fidelity, for during the frequent skirmishes, which took place at Catouna, he never encouraged his troops to follow up the advantages they had gained. On the other hand, it was well known that he had been the warm friend of Omer Vrioni before the war. His indulgent treatment of all those Turks, who fell into the hands of the Greeks, proved that he was looking forward to some secret plan of negotiation. Such, however, was the great influence of his family and connections, that Mavrocordato had no alterna-

tive in giving to him the command. The suspicions entertained with regard to Varnachiotti, were in a great degree confirmed on the interception of some letters addressed to him by Chourschid Pacha. These began by proposing an exchange of prisoners, and concluded with offers of pardon to all the Greeks, if they would submit and return to their homes. This only served to irritate the minor chiefs, who went to Varnachiotti's quarters, and insisted on his proclaiming, that any one who should propose an accommodation with the infidels, should be that instant put to death.

It was at this period, that the Capitan Pacha's fleet, consisting of seventy sail, of which five were of the line, appeared in the waters of Patrass, and even summoned the Greeks in Acarnania, to lay down their arms, but being suddenly called away to co-operate with Machmout, and to relieve Napoli di Romania, it did not wait to know the result.*

* On reaching the gulph of Argos, the Capitan Pacha met the Greek fleet under Miaouli. Bearing down on the Greeks, who had not more than sixty of their light and badly armed vessels, Miaouli formed in line of battle between Spezzia and the main, determined to await the enemy. When the Turkish ships approached within a short distance of the island, a fire ship was directed to stand towards them; she did so, and was soon locked in with an Algerine frigate. On perceiving this, the Turks immediately hauled off, and made all sail, as if pursued by a fleet treble their

The failure of the expedition under Kiriakouli, who fell in the conflict which followed his disembarkation at Splanza, a small village north of Prevesa,* and the disappointment of Marco Bozzaris,

number. Returning three days after, they stood into the gulph, as before, and were narrowly watched by the Greeks, who had maintained their position at the entrance. The latter made all sail after the enemy, and had already sent several fire vessels in advance.

This demonstration had the desired effect, as the Capitan Pacha made a signal, which was followed by the fleets tacking about, and steering to the eastward with all sail, nor was he heard of again, till his arrival at Tenedos. Having anchored at this island, a violent storm came on, and drove a frigate and several smaller vessels on the rocks, where they were totally lost.—This was not the only disaster that awaited the infidel fleet. A division of Ipsariots who had heard of the Capitan Pacha's approach, sailed directly, and taking advantage of the confusion into which he had been thrown by the late storm, sent in a fire ship under the celebrated Canari, who had been so fortunate at Scio. The attempt was equally successful: fastening his grappling irons to the Hull and rigging of a large seventy-four gun ship, it was in vain that the crew attempted to disengage her, and after burning to the waters edge, she blew up with a tremendous explosion. More panic-struck than ever, the remainder of the fleet cut their cables, and with the Capitan Pacha at their head, sought shelter within the Dardanelles, to the very entrance of which they were pursued by the Ipsariots.—Thus ended the naval exploits of the Turks in 1822.

* On their being landed at Splanza, a few days after embarking at Chiarenza, the Mainotes were preparing to commence their march towards Kiapha, when a corps of two thousand Turks attacked them from the neighbouring heights. They defended themselves with great gallantry, and forced the infidels to retire with considerable

added to the aspect of affairs in the Morea, having deprived the Souliotes of all hope of aid from their countrymen of the south, they were induced to accept the terms proposed to them, through the mediation of our consul at Prevesa, Mr. Meyer, who guaranteed their safe transport to the Ionian Islands, with their baggage and arms. The firmness displayed by those who were entrusted with the defence of Kiapha, was truly admirable, and fully justifies the praises which have been bestowed on a people who seem as if they had been destined to transmit the virtues of ancient republics down to modern times.

The fall of Souli placed so many troops at the disposal of Omer Vrioni, who now assumed the chief command in Acarnania, that he prepared to advance with an overwhelming force: and strong detachments had actually arrived in the immediate vicinity of the defiles early in October. The only chance now left to the Hellenists, of maintaining their ground, and preventing the whole province from being occupied by the enemy, was derived from the hope, that when the rainy

loss. Nor would they have thought of re-embarking, but for the death of their leader Kiriakouli. This brave man fell just as he had shot Kiagah Bey, the same who had been defeated at Doliana, by Nikitas, during the campaign of 1821. The body of the Greek Chief was borne off by his soldiers, and conveyed for sepulture to Messolunghi.

season should commence, and there were no longer any means of procuring supplies, the Turks would retreat, and thus afford time for re-organizing the troops who had been dispersed subsequently to the disaster at Peta.

Though pressed in the most urgent manner to attack the enemy, before he received any more reinforcements, Varnachiotti always contrived to defer it on some pretext or other: yet, the situation of the Greeks became every day more critical, and apprehensions were even entertained that the troops would disperse, if offensive operations were deferred much longer. These fears were fully realized about the middle of September, by the open defection of the traitor, who, not content with his own treason, induced the districts of Valtos and Xeromeros to submit to the enemy. On hearing this piece of intelligence, the Prince immediately united all the men he could collect, sent off expresses to the different chiefs upon whom he knew dependence could be placed, and took such other measures, as were likely to restore some degree of order. Quitting the town himself, at 10 o'clock on the night of the 19th, he halted on the road, in order to rally some peasants who were flying in a state of panic, and continuing his way on the following days, the Prince reached Vracori on the 24th. His presence here had a great effect in restoring confidence among the people: several captains, followed by numbers

of the armed peasantry, came in, and thus reinforced, the divisions marched on to Calavia, near Angelo Castro. This was the general rendezvous assigned for re-organizing the troops, and concerting a plan of future operations. Two thousand men having been collected, they were posted in such a way, as to stop the advance of the enemy on the side of Haspi, and Makada. The Prince himself took post with only a hundred men at the entrance of the mountains, and caused entrenchments to be thrown up. From hence, other messengers were sent to every part of the surrounding country, calling on the people to join the Patriot forces in repelling the enemy. A courier was also despatched to the Morea and naval islands, apprising them of what had occurred, and demanding succours: there were, however, but slender hopes of relief from any quarter. Reduced to nearly one third, by the desertions which followed Varnachiotti's treason, it was impossible to maintain their ground at Catouna, the Greeks therefore stationed there began their march toward Anatolica, where Mavrocordato had established his head-quarters. After sustaining several partial attacks on their route, which lay along the borders of Lake Ozeros, they were forced to abandon the plains on the right bank of the Acheron, determined, if possible, to defend the passage of that river below Angelo Castro, where it was not fordable.

Mavrocordato had not been many days in his new position, before the enemy's army, which was increased to nearly thirteen thousand men, mostly Albanians, under Omer Vrioni in person, had passed the defiles of Xeromeros, guided by Varnachiotti; it was supplied with a good park of artillery, and a large corps of cavalry; and immediately advanced to Vracori. Both this place and the surrounding villages were set on fire by the Greeks, to prevent their affording any shelter to the enemy. Marco Bozzaris, who had been unable to fulfil his generous intention of relieving Kiapha, occupied the defile of Dougri, while the troops posted at Calavia and Angelo Castro, were obliged to fall back towards Anatolica. There were, however, several hundred families, who determined rather to seek a refuge on the numerous islets scattered over the lakes in the neighbourhood, than to quit the place of their birth. The Prince, whose left flank was threatened, also found it necessary to abandon the position he had fortified, as its defence was no longer of importance: he therefore proceeded along the borders of the Lake Soudi to Dervekista, where a junction was formed with Bozzaris.

The sudden abandonment of this position on the Acheron, by the party stationed to guard that pass under Macri, changed the situation of the Greeks: this retreat was caused by a false alarm, stating that a body of Turkish cavalry had crossed the river near Stamma. This circum-

stance which was fortunately unobserved by the enemy, rendered it necessary for Mavrocordato to withdraw in all haste to the defile of Kerasova, where he vainly essayed to make a second stand, as it was now ascertained, beyond a doubt, that the Turks were really advancing on every side, and would soon be on the plains round Anatolica.

Xeromeros, Valtos and Vracori, were now overrun, and there was but too much reason to fear, that others had followed the example of Varnachiotti, by joining the enemy, who had by this time advanced to the heights of Stamma, about five miles from Anatolica, and from which he could at any time descend on the plain, to the very walls of Messolunghi. The loss of this place would have put the whole of Western Greece into the hands of the Turks, who might have then poured any number of troops into the Morea.

The conduct of Prince Mavrocordato, on this occasion, was marked by a degree of firmness and resolution, which has since placed him deservedly high in the estimation of the Greek people. It is indeed but a common act of justice to add, that the fate of Greece hung on the determination he now formed. Fortunately for the cause, he adopted the only plan which could afford a reasonable chance of saving the Morea.

Having put the remnant of his forces in motion,

Mavrocordato set out from Anatolica, as if he intended to retreat towards Salona, but turning suddenly round, he returned by a flank march on the village of Therasova, and entered Messolunghi on the 17th of October. The difficulties, which now presented themselves, were, however, far greater than any hitherto experienced.

The population of this place, which had not exceeded two thousand, before the revolution, was now reduced to a few families who possessed no means of escaping; all those in better circumstances, having fled to the Morea and Ionian islands, on the enemy's approach. The town of Messolunghi is built on a perfect flat, and though its walls are washed by an arm of the sea, the water is so shallow, as not to admit the approach of any vessels larger than fishing boats, nearer than four or five miles. Its fortifications consisted of nothing more than a low wall without bastions, and surrounded by a ditch seven feet wide, by four in depth, and filled up with rubbish in many places. The parapet which did not rise more than three feet above the counterscarp, was formed of loose stones, very much out of repair, and broken down in a number of places. Although the defence of this extensive line, would require above three thousand men, the whole number of combatants whom the Prince had now with him, including those found in the town, did not amount to five hundred. The only cannon to be found within the walls, were four old ship guns,

and a dismounted thirty-six pounder. As to ammunition, there was not sufficient for a month's siege, and with the exception of maize, every kind of provisions was extremely scarce. It was in a place thus destitute and exposed, that Mavrocordato and his followers formed the resolution of making a stand against an army of fourteen thousand men. For this purpose not a moment was lost in repairing the wall and clearing the ditch; a work in which even the women were employed; the guns being placed in the most commanding points, all the houses built near the parapet were pierced with loop-holes, from which a fire of musketry could be kept up. In order to deceive the enemy as to their numbers, a quantity of bayonets found in the town, being made bright, were attached to poles, and arranged round the walls. When the president quitted Anatolica, it was agreed that Marco Bozzaris should occupy the passes through which the enemy would be likely to advance, between that place and the sea. The temporary occupation of this point enabled the Greeks to drive a quantity of cattle into Messolunghi. They were, however, obliged to retire in two days, upon which, Bozzaris followed by a small detachment of Souliotes succeeded in reaching the town, all the rest having dispersed among the mountains. A large division of the Turkish army appeared before the walls two days after, and immediately commenced a cannonade and fire of musketry, which continued with little intermission until the

next day, when it was only suspended, to propose a capitulation.* Profiting by the stupidity of the enemy, in not attempting an attack, which must have ended in the total destruction of the Greeks, Mavrocordato, whose only chance of safety depended on gaining time till succours were sent, replied in such a way, as to make Omer Vrioni imagine, that his proposal would be accepted. Though these negotiations were frequently interrupted by the renewal of the enemy's fire, they enabled the Greeks to make considerable progress in their preparations for defence: such however was the total inadequacy of means and resources, that there seemed to be no hope of escape. Matters went on in this state of painful suspense, until the morning of the 9th of November, when the Turkish brig and schooner, which had been sent to blockade the place, by Yussuff Pacha, were observed to steer towards Patrass, but the former being unable to reach the road-stead, owing to a strong southerly wind, bore up and stood for Ithaca, chased by six vessels, on board of which the Greek flag was seen flying. The ships were followed by the eager eyes of the Prince and his brave followers, until night closed in, and they

* One of the articles contained in this proposal, required that Mavrocordato and about twenty others, whose names were mentioned, should be given up, as a preliminary to any negotiation in favor of the garrison.

were once more left to ruminate on the perils of their situation. Although the appearance of this small squadron filled every breast with hope, yet a vigorous attack during the night might enable the infidels to render all opposition fruitless: as it fortunately happened, no attempt was made, and their joy may be readily conceived on the return of daylight to perceive the whole of the Greek squadron anchored as near the town as it could be approached. Having chased the Turkish brig, until she was run on the rocks of Ithaca by her crew, the Greek commodore came to announce that a body of Peloponnesians were ready for embarkation at Chiarenza and Katakolo, destined for the relief of Messolunghi. A part of the ships was dispatched on the following day for these most acceptable auxiliaries, and the remainder was joined by four Ipsariot vessels, thus forming a naval force, which was of itself calculated greatly to diminish the hopes of the enemy. The long-wished-for succours arrived on the 14th; they consisted of twelve hundred men, headed by Mavromichalis who was accompanied by Andreas Lundo, of Vostizza, and Deligianapulo, both distinguished Maniote chiefs. These troops having formed part of the army which had partaken in the victories gained on the plain of Argos, and before Napoli di Romania, were flushed with the recollection of their recent successes, and could not brook the thought of remaining shut up within the walls of

Messolunghi. A sortie was accordingly made on the 27th November, in which a hundred and ten Turks were left dead on the plain; while the loss of the Greeks did not amount to more than twenty in killed and wounded.

Such were the cruelties and excesses which followed the arrival of the infidel army in Acarnania and Etolia, that no sooner had the peasantry recovered from their consternation, than all those who had been able to retain their arms, rose, and greatly harassed the Turks by interrupting their communications, and preventing the arrival of any supplies.

In order to second these efforts of the people, it was determined that a part of the troops, sent from the Morea, should embark, and landing at Dragomeste, co-operate with the inhabitants of Valtos and Xeromeros, for the purpose of re-occupying the defiles, and thus effectually cut off the enemy's communication with Arta, and Vonizza. The command of this expedition was assumed by Mavromichalis, who sailed for his destination on the 24th of December. His departure reduced the garrison so much, that Omer Vrioni, who had remained for two months, without attempting an assault, now determined to take advantage of this circumstance. Knowing also that Christmas day was generally passed by the Greeks, in the performance of religious rites, which would give them

full occupation, he had an additional motive for carrying his design into execution at once.

Aware, from the movements of the Turkish camp, that something was in agitation, Mavrocordato, Bozzaris and the other chiefs, held a council of war, at which it was decided, that every body should be on the alert during the night, and, contrary to the usual custom, the church bells were not to be rung, lest the noise might prevent a knowledge of what passed close to the walls. Both Mavrocordato and the other leaders continued to visit all the posts, so as to prevent surprise, and to give the necessary directions in case of an attack.

The plan of the Turks was to send eight hundred picked men with scaling ladders to the weakest point; these were to be followed by two thousand more intended to draw off the attention of the Greeks, and induce them to quit their posts, while the first party entered the town. Other divisions of the enemy were to advance simultaneously on every side. The signal for commencing the attack was made at five in the morning of the 25th by firing a gun. A tremendous cannonade began along the whole Turkish line, and was as briskly answered by the Greeks. The escalading party contrived to approach within a few yards of the wall unperceived, and had even fixed some ladders, which enabled a few of the Turks to pass the parapet; these were,

however, instantly cut down; two standard bearers who succeeded in planting the crescent on the walls, shared the same fate; all, in fact, who attempted to mount the wall were precipitated into the ditch; and as the Greeks felt that their existence depended on the issue of this struggle, they vied with each other in acts of valour and boldness. Though short, the conflict which followed was both desperate and sanguinary, for when daylight broke, the whole of the glacis were seen covered with the dead. Though the Turks now perceived that they had nothing to hope from prolonging the contest, numbers continued to advance for the purpose of carrying off their dead companions, not one of whom was suffered to escape. The infidels lost above twelve hundred men and nine stands of colours in this affair; while, incredible as it may appear, the utmost loss of the Greeks, was only six killed and about thirty wounded. Such was the result of an attack, upon the success of which, the Turkish Chief calculated so fully, that he assured those around him, it was his intention to dine at Messolunghi, on the great anniversary of the Christians. The immediate effect of this signal discomfiture, was that of making the rising general throughout the neighbouring provinces: those who had entertained any dread of the enemy before, were now quite disengaged from their fears, and bands were found in all directions, to cut off their retreat whenever

they attempted to recross the mountains. The only fear entertained by Mavrocordato, was, lest the Turks should fly before the arming of the peasantry had been completed. On the other hand it required all the efforts of the chiefs to prevent their men from sallying forth at once, and grappling with the whole of the infidel army on the plain.

Omer Vrioni, having sent Varnachiotti to Xeromeros, in order to procure provisions and forage, received a letter on the 31st, from the traitor, informing him that Rongo, whom Omer had sent into Valtos for the same object, had abandoned the cause he had feigned to espouse, the more effectually to deceive the enemy; and placing himself at the head of three thousand men, was marching to cut off Omer's retreat by Langoda; that the people of Xeromeros had flew to arms in spite of all his influence, and that the Prince of Maina, at the head of fifteen hundred men, had just driven the Turks from Dragomeste, and was advancing to occupy the defiles by which the Pacha could alone effect his retreat to Vonizza. The Turks whose characteristic is fear, were so panic-struck by this intelligence, that it had not reached the camp two hours before their retreat commenced, with the greatest disorder. This was so sudden and precipitate, that they left the whole of their artillery, consisting of eight fine pieces of brass cannon, with a complete

field train and tumbrils; two howitzers; ammunition and camp equipage, together with a large quantity of provisions and all the baggage. To increase their embarrassment, the infidels were scarcely in motion, when a detachment of five hundred men sallied from the town, and overtaking their rear guard at Kerasova, killed a great number. On reaching the Acheron, its waters were so swollen by the continued rains, that the enemy could not pass, so that they now found themselves enclosed on every side and without provisions. It was while the infidels were in this situation and meditating the means of escape, that a large division of the Greeks under Marco Bozzaris appeared marching towards them. Such was the effect of this movement, that the Turks, more panic-struck than ever, determined to attempt the passage of the river, rather than risk a battle. They accordingly plunged into the stream, and several hundreds were drowned in crossing, while those who did not adopt this perilous mode of saving themselves, were under the necessity of surrendering as prisoners to the Souliote Chief.

Having gained the right bank of the Acheron, the Turkish hordes had fresh enemies to contend with at every step, in the armed peasantry of Xeromeros, Valtos, and the other districts through which their line of retreat lay; so, that, of the large force brought into Acarnania only three

months before, not more than half the number, escaped; nor did the fugitives stop, before they reached Arta and Anacori beyond the passes of Macronoros. With respect to Mavrocordato, whose firmness and perseverance, during this most arduous period, are above all praise, he was now enabled to realize his favourite plan of civil organization. A local junta being formed at Messolunghi, measures were immediately adopted for carrying the law of Epidaurus into effect throughout Acarnania and Etolia. Arrangements were also made for re-organizing the military system of the provinces. The importance of Messolunghi being now more apparent than ever, it was determined that a moment should not be lost, in remodelling its dilapidated fortifications; the completion of this task was considered so urgent, that in addition to the regular working parties, the inhabitants, of whom considerable numbers returned after the retreat of the enemy, were called upon to assist in throwing up the new works. This call being readily obeyed, they proceeded with such alacrity and spirit that, in less than three months, Messolunghi was placed in a state of perfect security from all future attacks; these important objects accomplished, the President re-embarked with all the troops, that were not required for the defence of the town, and crossed over to the Peloponnesus, where he arrived in the early part of April, after an absence of ten months.

CHAP. XIII.

NATIONAL CONGRESS Assembled at Astros.—Proceedings which took place there.—Proclamation to the People.—The Seat of Government is transferred to Tripolizza.—Preparation for opening the Campaign.—Movements of the Turks.—Operations in Livadia.—Retreat of Yusuff Pacha.—The Campaign is opened in Acarnania.—Advance of Mustapha Pacha.—Defection of the Albanians at Prevesa.—Marco Bozzaris marches to Carpenisa.—Arrival of the Turkish Army.—It is attacked in the Night by the Greeks.—Heroism and Death of MARCO BOZZARIS.—Constantine Bozzaris is named to the Command.—Proceedings of the Capitan Pacha.—Execution of Six Prisoners.—Operations in Candia.—Capture of Thisamos and Selinon.—Gallantry of the Greek Squadron under Macromure.—The Turkish Fleet returns to the Dardanelles.—Re-Capture of Corinth.—Brave Defence of Anatolica.

ACCORDING to the law of Epidaurus, the elections for the second period should have been completed by the first of January, 1823, but this was impossible, owing to the proximity of the seat of war and long continuance of the campaign. A circular had, however, been sent forth by the executive immediately after the fall of Napoli di Romania, directing that the new elections should commence forthwith, prescribing the mode of carry-

ing them on, so as to prevent improper returns; and pointing out the necessity of selecting only such men, as had given unequivocal proofs of patriotism and public virtue. The members were invited to join the executive at a small town called Astros, situated in one of the numerous vallies which border the gulph of Argos; as the position of this place afforded an easy communication with the Islands, as well as the Morea and other points of the confederation. The members of the government, who had passed some weeks at Castries, on the coast opposite Hydra, proceeded to Astros early in March, but more than a month elapsed before the whole of the deputies and military chiefs had arrived. So great was the anxiety of the people to participate in the deliberations, that in addition to the prescribed number of representatives, not less than fifty delegates were sent from different places, with petitions praying for permission to be present in the national congress. Besides the soldiery, there was a large concourse of visitors drawn to the spot, from motives of curiosity, and the interest so universally taken in the issue of the proceedings.

In order to secure the concurrence of all parties, and give greater unity to the political system, one of the first proposals made by Prince Mavrocordato, on his arrival from Messolunghi, was that of transferring the powers confided to the three local Juntas of Epirus, Livadia and Peloponnesus, to

the central government. The meetings commenced on the 10th of April, and were held in a garden, under the shade of orange trees. While the deputies and delegates, amounting to nearly three hundred, were occupied in the debates, which began soon after sun-rise, the citizens and soldiers were mingled promiscuously outside, where, being shaded from the heat of the sun by a grove of olive trees, they also discussed every point connected with the public interests, with as much zeal as their representatives, and waited the termination of each sitting with the greatest anxiety. The temper and spirit which prevailed during the meetings will be best appreciated by a short summary of what took place.

At the preparatory meeting of the 10th, the following oath was administered to each member: "I swear in the name of God and my country, to act with a pure and unshaken patriotism; to promote a sincere union, and abjure every thought of personal interest in all the discussions which shall take place in this second national congress." The Congress then proceeded to nominate a president for the second period, in the person of Mavromichalis, after which, commissions were formed to revise those points in the Constitution that had been found most susceptible of improvement, as well as to inquire into the state of the confederation generally. After having heard reports on the various subjects of religion, public

justice, finance, the military force, and civil administration, the assembly came to the following resolution relative to the modifications suggested by the commission appointed to inquire into the political code. "The second Constituent Assembly of Greece, after having introduced those changes and improvements into the constitution, rendered necessary by experience, and the interests of the nation, decrees; First: that the political code of Greece, which shall be henceforth called the LAW OF EPIDAURUS, be entrusted to the fidelity of the legislative body, executive government, and judicial authorities: it is also consigned to the safeguard of the people, and to the patriotism of all the Greeks. Secondly: that the executive cannot enact laws, or make innovations on the said law of Epidaurus, under any circumstances whatever. Thirdly: that the constitution, thus revised and ratified by the universal consent, shall be immediately promulgated throughout the confederation. Fourthly: that the original document, signed by all the members and delegates composing the present assembly, shall be deposited in the archives of the legislative body."

The above important point being settled on the 25th, a number of minor details next occupied the Congress. An article of the constitution, which provided for the sale of national property, was suspended in order that the possession of these immense domains formerly held by the in-

fidels, might facilitate the financial operations of the government abroad, and prevent the loss which could not fail to attend their being disposed of under existing circumstances. The executive was, however, empowered to dispose of all perishable materials, such as houses, mills, shops, caravansaries, mosques, baths, and oil presses. Thanks were also decreed to the ship owners of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, for their naval exertions during the war. Towards the close of the meetings, discussions took place, and regulations were made, relative to the best mode of meeting the current expences of the ensuing year, and the executive recommended to adopt such steps for replenishing the treasury as were allowed by the constitution. The project of a law for the establishment of provincial governors and local magistracy was next submitted to Congress, and confirmed. It being impossible to determine on a criminal code without farther inquiry and examination, the executive was empowered to make selections from the code Napoleon, and to organize the tribunals *pro tempore*.

The labors of Congress closed on the 30th of April, when it was decreed that unless circumstances rendered it necessary, the assemblage of a third National Congress should be deferred for two years; and that in order to prevent the people from being too much hurried in the choice of their representatives, the executive should give

three months notice of the convocation. The seat of government being established at Tripolizza, *ad interim*, it merely remained for the Congress to state the result of its proceedings, and this was done in the following address to the people.

"The national war of the Greeks for the assertion and maintenance of their independence, continues for the third year; during this period, the tyrant has not been able to succeed against us, either by land or sea, whereas thousands of the enemy have fallen victims to the temerity of their leaders. Fortresses have been reduced, new acquisitions of territory made, whilst the thunder of our arms has resounded to the very walls of Byzantium.

"It was at Epidaurus that Greece had the happiness of first manifesting its will as an independent State, establishing a national government and instituting its fundamental laws. After a lapse of sixteen months, the second assembly of the people has been convoked at Astros; this, after having examined the political code conformably to the wishes of the nation, has decreed various ameliorations required by the common interest. The state of the finances, public accounts, and national resources, have also been carefully discussed, and the necessary measures adopted for maintaining a force, both naval and military, which shall set all the future threats of the enemy at defiance. Agreeably to the law happily instituted at Epi-

daurus, it is hereby decreed, that the second period of the provisional government shall henceforth commence, and be left to perform the great duties committed to its vigilance and patriotism. Previous to its separation, it remains for the National Congress to proclaim, in the name of the Greek people, and in the presence of GOD and man, the political existence of the Hellenists and their independence, for the acquirement of which the nation has shed torrents of blood, with the unalterable resolution of every individual of the Confederation, either to maintain the freedom they have conquered, or descend to the tomb with arms in their hands, as becomes men resolved to combat for the rights of nature and the holy religion they profess. Deprived of their liberties and property, exposed to unheard-of cruelties, by those who have ever been strangers to justice and humanity, the natives of an heroic soil, always keeping in mind the glory of their ancestors, feel that, in shaking off the yoke of barbarism and liberating their country, they have only performed a sacred duty, called for no less by the obligations of religion than the progress of civilization.

"It has been among the objects of the present Congress, elected by the free and unbiassed choice of the people, to declare to the whole universe—1st. The justice of the war in which they are engaged for the preservation of the national independence. 2dly. The anxious desire of the Greek

people to regain the knowledge they had lost by centuries of oppression; and to be numbered among the enlightened nations of Europe, to which they still look for sympathy and support. 3dly. To thank, in the name of the whole nation, the military and naval forces which have, during the two last campaigns, so bravely fought the battles of their country, destroying above fifty thousand of the enemy. 4thly. To express its thanks to the provisional government, as well as the local juntas, more especially the Senate of the Peloponnesus and Areopagus of Western Greece, for the zealous and disinterested manner in which they have performed their arduous duties.

"In thus closing its labours, the National Congress implores the OMNIPOTENT FATHER of all, to extend his Almighty protection to the people of Greece, and crown their efforts with success!"

When it is considered that this was only the second time of a general assembly of the Greeks, since the Achaian league, which enabled their ancestors to resist the whole power of Rome, nothing would have been more natural than to expect a great degree of jealousy among chiefs whose recent triumphs had given them such claims to pre-eminence, or of confusion in the proceedings of men so unaccustomed to the business of legislation. Yet, with the exception of a temporary misunderstanding between the generals and legisla-

tive body, relative to the propriety of alienating national domains at once, or waiting till the conclusion of the war, it would be difficult to conceive a scene of greater harmony.

The promulgation of the address was followed by the immediate transfer of the executive and legislative body to Tripolizza, where immediate steps were taken for opening the third campaign. As, however, the enemy had been so effectually crippled during the preceding year, some weeks elapsed before any movement was attempted by the Turks, who thus offered time for the provisional government to organize the best mode of prosecuting the war. As the invasion of the Morea and the operations in Arcanania had rendered it impossible for the people to cultivate their grounds, little could be expected from the ensuing harvest: an arrangement was however made, by which the national property and forth-coming crops, estimated at twelve millions of Turkish piastres by the finance commission, were farmed out for about a third of that sum, and this together with a few millions, furnished by the zeal of patriotic individuals, was all Greece had to enter the field a third time against the whole military and naval power of the Ottomans.

Although so inactive during the early part of the summer, the enemy was by no means idle afterwards. A fleet consisting of seventeen frigates

and above sixty smaller vessels of war and transports, filled with troops, ammunition and provisions, was dispatched for the purpose of supplying the fortresses still held in Negropont, Candia, and the Morea. Owing to the impossibility of preparing the Greek ships in time, this was effected without opposition at Carystus, Canea, Coron, Modon and Patrass, where the Capitan Pacha arrived about the middle of June.

With respect to the plan of operation projected by the enemy on shore, it was infinitely better than that of last year; while the forces destined to carry it into effect were far superior both as to numbers and leaders. An army of twenty-five thousand men having been assembled at Larissa early in June, it was formed into two divisions, intended to act at separate points; one of these, under Yusuff, Pacha of Bercoffeeli, marched towards Thermopili, while the other led on by Mustapha Pacha, proceeded to the pass of Neopatra near Zetouni. The Greeks posted here, being too weak to attempt making any resistance, withdrew, so that the enemy was enabled to advance into Livadia unopposed, and encamped at Nevropolis on the 20th of June. Still unable to cope with the Turkish division, the Greeks contented themselves with occupying the passes through which this force had entered the province.

In the meanwhile, Yusuff continued to occupy

and lay waste the whole country round Parnassus and Livadia, murdering all the inhabitants who had not escaped to the mountains or marshes near the lake Copaes: he also attacked a small corps which had thrown up entrenchments on the high road between Rachova and Delphi, but was repulsed with considerable loss: returning a few days after, the enemy was more successful, and having turned the right of the Greeks, advanced to both the above named places, to which he set fire, after plundering whatever had been left by the fugitive peasantry.

Odysseus, who had been waiting at Athens until the contingent dispatched from Tripolizza under Nikitas passed the Isthmus of Corinth, set out on the 28th of June: leaving orders that all the forces collected in Attica and Bœotia should follow, he proceeded to Megara with five hundred men, and embarking there, sailed up the gulph and joined Nikitas at Dobrena. The two chiefs lost no time in advancing towards the enemy, and soon reached the heights in sight of Yusuff's camp. A system of guerrilla warfare was now commenced, and the Turks were so harassed, that they soon retreated in the greatest disorder pursued by the Greeks, who killed numbers, and took a large quantity of their baggage.

The second division, under Mustapha, waited on the plain of Thebes for the result of Yusuff's operations, in order to advance towards the gulph

of Lepanto, but the retreat of his coadjutor having enabled the Greek chiefs to alter their plans, Odysseus pushed on to attack this division, which he forced to take refuge in Negropont, leaving behind most of its baggage and military stores. The Turks had scarcely reached Carystus, when Odysseus appeared before it, and established a rigorous blockade. After these successes, which removed all apprehension of any new attack on the side of Corinth, Nikitas proceeded to Salona to co-operate with the inhabitants in the preparations making for the defence of that place, and its neighbourhood.

The management of the war in Acarnania being confided to Mustapha, Pacha of Scutari, with Yusuff, the Pacha of Serres, as his second in command, they found such difficulty in organizing a sufficient force, that the whole of June and July were passed in preparing a corps of eight thousand men at Prevesa. Yusuff had taken up a position at Ponda, a village close to the ancient Actium, there to await the Pacha of Scutori. The latter was advancing with his own troops, and a large contingent furnished by the Pacha of Thessaly. Marco Bozzaris was at Katochi between Messolunghi and Vonizza, with Joncas of Agrapha,* to whom he had been reconciled after a long

* Joncas was highly distinguished before the war, as Protopalicaron, or second in authority to the famous Klepthis Katsandoni, who frequently defeated the armies, and ultimately succeeded in setting the whole power of Ali Pacha at defiance.

enmity. Their utmost force did not exceed twelve hundred men, but with these, it was decided they should continue closely to watch the motions of the enemy. While, however, Mustapha was on his march from Agrapha to Vracori, fully expecting to be joined there by the troops at Prevesa, the Albanians, who formed the flower of Yusuff's army, no sooner received the allowances usually made before entering the field, than they mutinied, threatened the life of their commander, and after committing numerous excesses, withdrew to their respective homes. Even Yusuff's tent was not spared on this occasion, while he himself only escaped by embarking and flying to Patrass with a few of his attendants. The cause of this mutiny and desertion was afterwards traced to Omer Vrioni, who had become jealous of Yusuff's military fame, and determined to strip him of all means of co-operating with Mustapha in the present campaign. He accordingly succeeded in persuading the Albanians to join his own standard, and took post at Lepanore, to the right of the Acheron, with four thousand men. On reaching Patrass, Yusuff Pacha sent a body of troops to be landed at Crionero, not far from the position of Marco Bozzaris, with orders to attack the Greeks in flank. Apprised of their landing, the Souliote chief fell on the Turks, and having either killed or taken prisoners more than two

thirds of the whole number, the rest were glad to escape to their boats.

Hearing that a division of two thousand men was advancing on the side of Valtos, Bozzaris sent a detachment in that direction to prevent their approach, while he himself determined to dispute the entrance of Mustapha Pacha into Acarnania. To effect this important object, it became necessary to undertake one of those extraordinary forced marches, which have so frequently secured victory to the Greeks during the present contest. It was this alone which enabled him to reach Carpenisa in time to prevent the consequences that must have followed a sudden invasion by Mustapha. The enemy's army reached the frontier of Acarnania on the 19th of August, and encamped on an extensive plain near the above place: it amounted to fourteen thousand men, while the Greeks could with difficulty collect two thousand. Undaunted by such fearful odds, Bozzaris, whose previous gallantry had awakened the most flattering hopes of his future heroism, was now destined to exceed the most sanguine anticipations of his friends and admirers. A general council of the chiefs and soldiery being summoned, Marco pointed out the impossibility of making a regular attack on the enemy, while on the other hand, their country and its cause were irretrievably lost, if they did not take advan-

tage of the night, and endeavour by an act of boldness, required by the interests of their country, to prevent the Turks from entering the plains round Messolunghi. This opinion being acquiesced in by all present, he addressed his companions a second time, and having drawn a flattering picture of the glory which awaited those who took part in the intended attack, as well as the service they were about to render Greece, the hero called upon those who were ready to die for their country, to stand forward. The call was answered by four hundred men, chiefly Souliotes, who according to the ancient practice of Souli, when they are determined to conquer or die, threw away their scabbards, and embraced each other. Having selected three hundred to act immediately about his own person, Bozzaris directed that the remainder of the troops should be formed into three divisions, for the purpose of assailing the enemy's camp at different points, while he penetrated to the centre with his own chosen band.

Every thing being prepared by midnight, on the 19th, the last words of Bozzaris, on assigning to each chief and soldier the part he had to perform, were, "If you lose sight of me during the combat, come and seek me in the Pacha's tent." He then set forward closely followed by the sacred battalion, while the three Stratarchs or minor chiefs, destined to make their attack at separate

points, also proceeded to their stations. In order that this should be simultaneous, it was agreed that not a shot was to be fired, or a sword drawn, until they heard a bugle sounded. Bozzaris was enabled to advance by addressing the Turkish sentinels in the Albanese language, and telling them he came with reinforcements from Omer Vrioni. On reaching the centre, he sounded the bugle, upon which the attack commenced on every side. The enemy, either unprepared or panic struck, fled in all directions, while those who resisted, frequently mistook their comrades for enemies, perishing by each other's hands. While dealing death around, and encouraging his companions to profit by so favorable a moment, the voice of Bozzaris was recognized, and just as he had ordered the chief Pacha to be seized, a ball struck him in the loins: though the wound was dangerous, he concealed it, and continued to animate the men, until wounded a second time in the head, when he fell, and was borne from the field by a party of soldiers, Notwithstanding this disaster, the struggle was maintained with the utmost spirit till daylight, at which time the Greeks saw themselves undisputed masters of the field; those of the enemy who did not perish having abandoned their camp, leaving the ground covered with dead, eighteen standards, a quantity of baggage and ammunition, together with a number of horses, and several thousand head of oxen. While

the loss of the infidel army could not be less than three thousand men, that of the Christians was only thirty killed, and seventy wounded: of these, about half were Souliotes. Brilliant as this triumph must be regarded, it was the most dearly bought of all those acquired by regenerated Greece. Though unblessed with the advantages which science and education bestow, Marco Bozzaris was endowed with all those manly virtues and that simplicity of character, which are only to be found in the heroes of Plutarch. His conduct from early life, whether in his capacity of citizen, patriot, or soldier, had excited the hopes, and won the admiration of the whole Greek people. Surely the last act of his life will bear an advantageous comparison with the most envied moment in that of Leonidas, or the hero of Mantinea? Greece will long have to deplore this irreparable loss. Yet, would it have been impossible to die a more glorious death; and, however slender the hopes of replacing such a man may be, the event cannot fail to exercise a most salutary effect on those who are left to sustain the contest; while, if antiquity could boast a name, which has served as a never fading illustration to poets, orators, and historians, modern Greece may safely put forth that of Marco Bozzaris, as being scarcely less entitled to the palm of immortality.*

* Those qualities which had raised Marco Bozzaris so high in the estimation of his countrymen, and which would have perhaps

On discovering their loss, the eyes of the Greek chiefs and soldiers were immediately turned on Constantine, the hero's elder brother, who was named his successor with acclamation. When he had paid the last sad duties to the manes of his departed relative, a party of Souliotes were sent to convey the body to Messolunghi for sepulture, while the remainder of the troops, headed by their new leader, took up a position, whence they could watch the future movements of the enemy and prevent his advancing.

It has been already stated, that the Capitan Pacha's fleet had arrived in the waters of Patrass,

led to his being one day the first in rank as he was in virtue, have been detailed in a spirited sketch of the hero's life, which has appeared in the New Monthly Magazine. Nor is it possible to peruse the account there given, without fancying that we are reading the life of a Greek captain in the days of Pericles or Phocion.

The last moments of the Souliote chief must have been greatly embittered by the recollection that his wife and children were to be left completely unprovided for. I saw Madame Bozzaris and her two fine boys at Ancona, when on my way to Greece last year; she is a very interesting young woman, and was then far advanced in pregnancy. Nothing could be more destitute than her situation after the death of her husband, and were it not for the pious and benevolent Metropolitan Ignatius, there is reason to fear that the widow of a man whose memory may be one day hailed with scarcely less veneration than that of Timoleon or Leonidas, would have been reduced to the lowest stage of poverty and want. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the provisional government has not as yet possessed any means whatever of providing for a family which has such irresistible claims on the sympathy of all Greece.

about the middle of June. Although the professed object of his visit was to co-operate with the military leaders on shore, the latter derived very little benefit from his appearance. One of the first acts of the Pacha was that of declaring Messolunghi and every other port possessed by the Greeks, in a state of rigorous blockade, although he had neither the courage nor energy to enforce it. A number of vessels under the Ionian flag were seized at the same time, while several light ships had orders to cruise about the island, to examine all the vessels they should meet. Such was the effect of this measure, that the whole of the islanders who had any commercial concerns regarded themselves in a state bordering on close blockade, for, being aware of the excesses in which Turkish sailors indulged, and that the mere fact of being visited by an infidel cruiser, subjected them to a long quarantine, none of the Ionians would venture to sail; so that their commerce was completely interrupted for several weeks. The little respect shown to the British flag by the barbarians was also most strikingly exemplified, in the murder of six passengers, taken in a boat belonging to Corfu, and which sailed from that island soon after the arival of the Turkish fleet at Patrass. This vessel was boarded off the island of Paxos, and though her papers were perfectly regular, she was taken into Prevesa, when the passengers were brought before Yusuff Pacha,

then waiting for the contingents from Albania, and after a short examination, he ordered them to be hung up within a few hundred yards of the English Consul's door. The motive of this outrage, as well as the steps taken to prevent and resent it, are still unknown both to the Greeks and Ionians,

Notwithstanding the difficulties which opposed the sailing of the Greek fleet, until so late a period of the season, Emmanuel Tombasi, the Hydriot admiral, was supplied with a body of fifteen hundred men, and a small squadron, with which he proceeded to Candia early in June, having been previously named Harmostis,* or Captain General of all Crete. Landing near Kisamos on the 6th, he ordered the ships to blockade the port, while he should attack the town by land. A proposal was, however, first made to the Turkish garrison to capitulate, and they agreed to accept it; but on hearing that the Capitan Pacha was at sea, they retracted, and broke off the parleys which had commenced. Being soon after attacked from two batteries, which were mounted under the direction of Mr. Hastings, who accompanied the Captain General as head of the artillery, the Turks were glad to renew the negotiation, and terms having been mutually agreed on, they embarked in their own ships next day, for Canea; leaving

* This was the title given by the ancient Spartans to the governors who were entrusted with full powers.

the town without a single inhabitant, thus greatly diminishing the risk which the Greeks would have otherwise incurred, of contracting the plague.

Four Beys were, however, retained as hostages for the fulfilment of the terms, which provided, that all the Greeks, retained in slavery in other parts of the island, should be given up: when the governor of Canea heard of this condition, he peremptorily refused to ratify it; adding, that the Greeks were at perfect liberty to do as they pleased with men, who did not know how to defend the post which had been confided to their charge.

After the fall of Kisamos, Tombasi marched on to the district of Selinon, in the chief town of which the Turks had shut themselves up after being repulsed on all sides by the armed peasantry. Besides its high wall and bastions, this place is surrounded by thick groves of olive, and plane trees, which render the approach extremely difficult. The Captain General having proposed terms similar to those granted at Kisamos, they were rejected, upon which batteries were immediately opened on the place: these had not played long, when the Turks fled towards Canea and were pursued to the very walls by a detachment of Greeks, who slew numbers. Master of these two points, Tombasi was enabled to open a communication with the various other districts which had been conducting the war before his

arrival, and although it was out of his power to furnish them with those supplies, of which they stood so much in need; yet, the presence of such a force as he brought with him, as well as the recent check experienced by the enemy, gave a fresh impulse to the exertions of those brave islanders, who had by their own gallantry sustained a most unequal contest with the Turks for above two years; and succeeded, without any assistance whatever, in driving them into the fortresses. It is true, the Candiotes did not achieve their victories without great sacrifices, as it is calculated that above twenty thousand of both sexes have perished in this beautiful and prolific island, since the insurrection broke out.

While the Captain General was organizing a plan of still more active operations on shore, his small squadron under the gallant Hydriot Captain Macromure, greatly distinguished itself before Retumo and Canea, in preventing the entry of several Turkish vessels that attempted to throw supplies into those two places.

With respect to the Capitan Pacha, his naval efforts were confined to the declaration of blockade already noticed, while a few Greek gunboats stationed at the first named place, were more than sufficient to set the whole of his vigilance and power at defiance. There was in fact scarcely a single instance of any vessel, carrying supplies to the Greeks, being intercepted, where-

as several under the Austrian flag, fell into the hands of the Christians. Having remained in a state of the greatest inactivity for above three months, during which time, nearly a third of his crews were carried off by an epidemic fever, the Turkish admiral sailed at length, and made the best of his way towards the Archipelago. A Greek squadron, which left Hydra early in September, met the infidel fleet off Mytelene, and sent some fire ships in among them, but without effect, the wind being so high, that the Turkish vessels had time to escape. So far, however, from having sustained a defeat, as stated by the enemies of the Greek cause, a division of Turkish ships was attacked soon after in the gulph of Volos, and several of them were taken or destroyed. As to the Capitan Pacha, he did not, as usual, attempt to visit any of the islands, but hastened back to the Dardanelles with all possible speed.

The campaign of 1823 was signalized by two events no less advantageous to the Greek cause, than they were honourable to the Greek character,—the re-occupation of Corinth and defence of Anatolica. Though frequently reduced to great distress for provisions, yet, such was the importance attached to the possession of Corinth by the Turks, that they obstinately rejected every overture to surrender, until the latter end of October, when there being no longer any hope of receiving the assistance promised by the

Capitan Pacha, who had thrown a trifling supply into the place on the arrival of the fleet, a proposal was made to Staico of Argos, who had maintained the blockade ever since he had led the assault of the Palamida at Napoli di Romania. This brave man immediately repaired to the seat of government, then at Napoli, to communicate the circumstance, and to know its pleasure: the result was, that he received full powers to treat with the garrison, and he returned for this purpose; but Colocotroni and one or two other chiefs, happening to hear of the intended negotiation, repaired to the spot, with a view, it is said, of participating in the spoils. No sooner, however, did the Turks hear of this, than a flag of truce was instantly sent to inform Staico, that they would only open the gates to himself and Giorgaki Kizzo: as it was in vain to think of reducing the Acropolis by force, there was now no alternative but that of acceding to their wishes: a messenger was therefore dispatched for the Souliote Chief,*

* Giorgaki is brother to Vasilica the favorite wife of Ali Pacha, and who was sent to Constantinople after the tyrant's fall. Though distinguished for his modesty in private life and undaunted bravery in the field, as well as the purest patriotism, the circumstance of his sister's marriage had placed Giorgaki near the person of Ali, who always treated him with the greatest kindness and made him the depository of all his secrets. It was not, however, until the death of Ali that Giorgaki took an active part in the war of regeneration; when this event occurred, he repaired to the Morea, with a chosen party of followers, and has been not less actively than

who arrived soon after, and entered the Acrocorinthus, on condition that the Turks might be permitted to depart. This being accorded, they were embarked on board some Austrian vessels, and conveyed to Asia Minor. Disappointed in their hopes, and stung with mortification at the mean opinion of their character, implied by the resolution of the infidels, Colocotroni and his

usefully employed ever since. Having accompanied Theriacouli in the hope of being able to enter Kiapha, he greatly distinguished himself in the action at Splanza, and was one of those who bore off the body of the Spartan chief.

I had frequent opportunities of seeing Giorgaki while at Tripolizza, and was much struck by his modest demeanour and singularly fine countenance,—full of placidity and virtue. He suffered the greatest uneasiness on his sister's account, and I was more than once consulted as to the best means of extricating that beautiful woman from the hands of the infidels. As it occurred to me that a joint application from the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and our ambassador at Constantinople, would have the desired effect, I recommended his addressing himself to those two quarters. All I could do, as a mere traveller, was to mention the circumstance to Captain Hamilton of the Cambrian, and I did so, on meeting that gallant officer at Napoli di Romania. As the family of Vasilica is one of the most powerful in Epirus, both on the side of her late husband and the Souliotes, I trust this matter has already attracted the attention of those in whose power it is to obtain her liberation. It should be added, that there are about fifteen other individuals retained by the Porte, whose enlargement would add greatly to our popularity in Albania, without doing the smallest injury to the Turkish interests there. To return to Giorgaki, I should add, that he is the warm friend and admirer of Prince Mavrocordato, and was one of the three stratarchs who immortalized themselves with Marco Bozzaris at Carpenisa.

friends were obliged to retrace their steps to Tripolizza, which they entered amidst the scoffs of the multitude and ridicule of their own soldiers.

Anatolica is a small town built on a neck of land, about three leagues from Messolunghi, at the eastern extremity of the gulph which bears its name; and having nothing for its defence but an old dilapidated wall and ditch filled up in several places. Of about fifteen hundred inhabitants residing here, not more than three hundred were armed, when the town was closely invested by the Pacha of Scutari early in October, having previously received large reinforcements and been joined from Lepanou by Omer Vrioni. As the ulterior object of the enemy was to besiege Messolunghi, Constantino Bozzaris, unable to cope with such a force as that now brought forward, quitted his post at the bridge of Kerasova and retired to the former place to prepare for the Pacha's reception, whenever he should advance. The discomfiture before Anatolica was, however, scarcely less complete than that experienced at Messolunghi the preceding year.

Having established several batteries composed of mortars and eighteen pounders, the Turks continued to fire shells and shot into the place for above three weeks, during which they frequently summoned the inhabitants to surrender, but were invariably answered by a brisk cannonade, from the few

guns which had been mounted in great haste, when the enemy appeared, and discharges of musketry. Warned by the result of the attempt to assault Messolunghi, the experiment was not repeated, and having expended the whole of their shot and shells, as well as exhausted their stock of provisions, the Turks retreated in their usual disorder on the 19th of November, leaving behind a number of guns, and a considerable quantity of baggage. The loss of the infidels, in the various sorties made from the town, was above four hundred, while the Greeks had only about fifty killed and wounded, although the number of shot and shells thrown into the town was estimated at no less than two thousand six hundred: as the Turks were also frequently harassed in the rear, by parties from the mountains, or who sallied forth from Messolunghi, the number of their killed is probably underrated. It should be added, that an epidemic fever carried off above twelve hundred of the Pacha's army between the period of his defeat at Carpenisa and that of his retreat. The reason for attacking Anatolica was, that its possession would have enabled the Turks to assail Messolunghi by sea. Three gun boats had even been prepared by the Pacha, but when completed, he could not prevail on any person to embark in them, and they were accordingly burnt by his own orders. Nothing could exceed the cool and determined bravery of the defenders of Anatolica,

of whom a hundred and fifty swore a solemn oath to each other before the attack commenced, that they would bury themselves under its ruins, rather than surrender.

Such was the end of the third campaign; and such the fate of the formidable armies collected by the Pacha's of Scutari and Thessaly. Each of the four divisions which entered Livadia and Epirus was defeated and dispersed in little more than four months after it took the field, by a few detached corps: and unaided Greece was once more saved from the horrors to which she would have been exposed had the enemy triumphed. For it is well known, that the Turkish leaders had orders to carry fire and sword before them, so that the Greeks were fully aware that in this, as every former campaign, they had no alternative between victory and extermination.

CHAPTER XIV.

Conduct of European States in relation to Greece.—Levant Merchants and Jews.—Moral condition of the Greeks.—Calumnies on Greek character.—Domestic manners and women of Greece.—State of religion in Greece.—Priests.

HAVING essayed with however weak a pen, to trace the rise and progress of the Greek revolution, and to show what the energy of a small population, totally ignorant of the military art, undisciplined, unaided, and without a regular government, has been able to achieve over a power, which, little more than a century ago, laid siege to the capital of Austria, a no less interesting field of examination and enquiry presents itself in the religious and moral character of the Greek people; their means of consolidating that independence for which they have so gloriously strug-

gled; and above all, the policy of the European cabinets and conduct of the Christian world generally towards a people, whose claims to sympathy and support have ever been, as they now are, incontrovertible. It being however suggested, that my return to Greece might be more beneficial to the sacred cause, than all I could publish on the subject, I most willingly yield to the opinion of my friends, and shall therefore only offer a few desultory remarks, where I would fain have entered into a much more elaborate detail.

It may be truly said, that the most painful task which any future writer will have to perform, belongs to the historian of the Greek revolution. Without referring to what has been stated in the early part of these pages, to prove that the insurrection of Greece had nothing in common with the causes of revolt in other countries of Europe, however they may have been oppressed, and that it was consequently an act of the most palpable injustice to confound it with them, the number of eloquent pens which have proved this fact beyond any doubt, renders all further argument unnecessary. And yet, how will the future historian be able to record, that when after twenty centuries of tyranny and oppression, the descendants of Solon and Lycurgus, of Socrates and Plato, attempted to shake off a yoke the most barbarous and intolerable ever borne by man, the sovereigns

and ministers of civilized Europe, who owed all they knew of civilization, arts or literature, to the genius of ancient Greece, not only branded the effort with the epithet of revolution, but did every thing short of open hostility, to prevent its success. But the task of the historian will not stop here; he will have to record, that in an age which boasted of its zeal in the cause of humanity and religion, three millions of Christians were left year after year, at the mercy of the whole Ottoman power; and that while the nations of Europe looked on the unequal struggle unmoved, thousands of their brethren were consigned to the most cruel deaths, while nothing but the interposition of Providence could have possibly saved the Greek people from extermination.

As if it had not been enough, during this period of trial and of suffering, unexampled in history, to watch the progress of the struggle with cold and callous indifference, and not unfrequently to persecute the ill-fated people who thus sought their regeneration, every effort, which malignity could invent or malice dictate, was made to represent them as a degenerate race, totally unworthy of sympathy or freedom. How often has it been asserted, that the struggle was between barbarians, and that it was therefore a matter of perfect indifference which party got the upper hand. Would it be possible to devise a more bitter satire against Christianity and the Christian

potentates, than the virulent and gratuitous abuse heaped on the Greek people, by writers who either sought to gratify their passions, or fancied they were meeting the wishes of a patron in thus vilifying a whole people. Surely a moment's reflection must have convinced them, that to have left the Greek people so long at the mercy of their Mahometan tyrants, was the greatest proof they could adduce of degeneracy and imbecility on the part of those who were bound by every tie of religion and duty to save them?

Independently of those causes which have placed the cabinets of Europe in such open enmity to Greece, and thus invited falsehood and calumny to depreciate claims which they were determined not to recognize, the Greeks have found virulent detractors in two classes, whose abuse ought to be rather considered as complimentary to their character than otherwise; since it has arisen from that grovelling and sordid spirit of trade, which cannot brook the thought of successful competition, conducted by superior talent. I allude to European traders who have formed factories at Smyrna, Constantinople, and other parts of the Mediterranean, and to the whole tribe of Jews.—And I am justified in stating, that these two classes have gone farther in their calumnies against the Greek people, than even their task-masters the Turks. It is needless to say more, in order to prove how far the trading

spirit can vitiate the human mind. And yet, after all that has been said to depreciate them, it is a matter of incontrovertible notoriety, that the Greek merchants who have settled in the capitals and large trading towns of the Continent, are remarkable for their probity and fair dealing. The fact of their coming in contact with the Jews and factors of the Levant, in the intercourse of the latter with the Mahometans, is of itself, more than sufficient to account for the vindictive spirit with which they are pursued. How can it therefore be matter of wonder, that while the Jews of Constantinople, Salonica, and Smyrna, have seized every opportunity of co-operating in the cruelties of the Turks, the Europeans settled in these places have, without any exception of country, been the carriers and most active agents of the Infidels even since the war commenced.

Although the contest has been marked by many excesses, to most of which allusion has been made in the proper place, yet surely the events of this war furnish ample proof that the Greeks are not the degenerate people which their detractors have laboured to represent them? Without recurring to individual acts of heroism and virtue, of which numerous examples might be cited, their constancy and resignation under unheard of privations and sufferings, deserve the highest praise, and could only be sustained by a people far above the ordinary class.

To say that a system of the cruellest slavery, under rulers the most vitiated and corrupt, from the days of the lower empire, through the debauched and sanguinary catalogue of the Greek emperors, down to the worst of all dominations, that of the Turks, has not engendered many very formidable vices, would be to assert that the laws of nature and experience of history had made an exception in favor of the Greeks, and excepted them from effects as inevitable as they are irresistible. What, however, would the philanthropist say, and how ought he to draw his conclusion? Surely the wonder with him is, not so much that the Greeks have contracted some vices, as that they have anything in the shape of virtue remaining!

But after all these unworthy attempts to depreciate and calumniate a people who have been so long the sport of a cruel tyranny, what will the impartial and liberal minded of Europe say, if, on any future occasion, a writer should prove by argument and fact, that, assuming the immense superiority of ancient Greece over all other nations to be a matter of course, the moral and physical degradation of the Greeks is infinitely less than that of any other people of Europe?

Although my intercourse with this people did not date from my late visit to the Morea, I am far from thinking myself capable of doing justice to a subject which might well occupy the atten-

tion of the most philosophic observer, as it would unquestionably be an enquiry of the deepest interest, not only enabling us to estimate the manners and institutions of ancient times, but also to appreciate their effect in perpetuating the moral and physical attributes of a people.

Nor is it my intention minutely to analyse the Greek character. In asserting that industry, sobriety, and abstemiousness are its most prominent features, surely a foundation is laid on which all the minor virtues may be raised. To the foregoing traits, which are proverbial in the national character of the Greeks, may be added their exemplary conduct as fathers, husbands and brothers: of this, the present contest has afforded such proofs, as no other nation ever exhibited; and such indeed, as were never surpassed in the proudest days of Grecian or Roman history. Circumscribed as my personal observation must have been during my late visit, I was frequently astonished at the readiness with which the most perfect strangers ministered to each other's necessities. But, besides the numberless proofs of generosity and kindness between individuals, the conduct of thousands in devoting their all to the wants of the state, places the Greek character in a still more exalted point of view. Many names could be cited of persons, who had realised handsome fortunes in trade, having presented the whole to their country when the insurrection broke

out, merely reserving the bare means of existence for themselves. And when it is considered that in regard to worldly advantages, the inhabitants of the naval islands were sure to lose by the contest, what can be more disinterested or praiseworthy, than the sacrifices they have made in keeping their ships at sea for three successive years, without having as yet, received the smallest remuneration?*

* In paying this tribute, which I believe to be fully merited by the great mass of the Greek people, I do not mean to deny that, there is much, very much to correct in the national character. It was impossible to live so long under the Turkish yoke, and be so completely subjected to the caprice of their savage task-masters, and not to imbibe many of their customs. While at Tripolizza, I took every opportunity I could of suggesting that the most strenuous efforts of the government and leading men, should be directed to this object. The reply was however so conclusive, that it left me without the means of urging any further objections. "We lament all this, as much as you can, and are most anxious to remove every thing which can remind us of the dreadful state from which we have emerged:—but besides the fact of our having no present means of adopting European customs, the whole of our attention is necessarily absorbed by the paramount object of consolidating the social edifice." I found an able and eloquent supporter in Father Theodosius, a priest of considerable learning, who never entered a society, in which he found his countrymen seated cross-legged and sipping their coffee in the manner of the Turks, without inveighing bitterly against so barbarous a custom, and calling on his countrymen to recollect that they had sprung from the great masters of civilisation, and re-entered the great European family. It is a fact worthy of remark, that the primates are more prone to Turkish customs of every kind, than any other class of Greeks.

"The intellectual qualities of the Greeks are not less striking and conspicuous than those which I have mentioned. They are principally displayed in their aptitude for agriculture, commerce, and navigation, and wherever the advantages of education are afforded, in acquiring all the higher branches of knowledge. The peasantry have gone farther in the art of cultivation than any other people of Europe, considering their limited means; and whenever they happen to be employed in learning the imitative arts, their progress seems to be quite intuitive. It cannot be too often repeated, as illustrative of the national character generally, that the Greek peasant and soldier will undergo fatigues and privations, without murmuring, upon such scanty means, as would exhaust the natives of any other country in Europe.*

* Such is the tenacity and firmness of the Greek character, that there is reason to believe the people have preserved much more of their ancient usages and manners than any other nation in the world. Many of the traits, noticed in Barthelemy's excellent work, are hourly witnessed by travellers in the present day. And with respect to the physical conformation of the Greeks, it has been preserved to a surprising degree of exactness. It has been somewhere observed that the figure and physiognomy of the Greeks, are different from those of every other people; in agreeing with this assertion, it might be added that nature seems to have exhausted all her power in the human figure, as it is to be found to this day, among all classes of the people. No wonder that sculpture should have made so great a progress, and attained such a degree of perfection, when the models were abundant and beautiful. Those who have compared the

Whenever circumstances admit of their return, Greece will boast a very brilliant catalogue of

present form of the Greeks, with their master pieces in sculpture, cannot deny that an artist of the present day might find models for the Apollo Belvidere, Meleager and Gladiator, in almost every town and village of the confederation. Though, like every thing else which gave Greece such pre-eminence over the ancient world, painting and sculpture be now lost, it is only necessary to travel through the Peloponnesus, to be convinced with what facility they may receive in a country, which is replete with the most sublime and beautiful scenes of nature at every step.

With respect to the habits of the lower classes, it should be observed that, as in ancient times, the labors of the field are indifferently partaken, by men and women. The lighter portion, such as reaping, weeding and hoeing, being of course allotted to the weaker sex. Unprovided with manufactures, the resources of a Greek family, whether among the peasantry, or in the middling walk of life, up to the highest rank, might well surprise our English matrons. In the lowest class, almost every cottage is furnished with its loom, oven and mills, while every member of the family is taught the use of the distaff. I ought not to pass by this class, without bearing testimony to that admirable constancy with which they have borne up against the innumerable evils of their situation, preserving all the pristine virtues of hospitality, and an urbanity of manners, not exceeded by any other people of Europe. If they are superstitious, the fault is not theirs, but that of teachers who have in Greece, as in other countries, converted religion into an instrument of worldly profit and personal ambition.

Some account of the family, with which I resided while at Tripolizza, will afford a fair specimen of the middling class of society in Greece. It consisted of the proprietor, who was an opulent merchant before the contest commenced, and is still engaged in trade; his wife and four children, of whom three were daughters, who might, in other days, have served as models to Zeuxis or Praxi-

men, highly distinguished in all the walks of literature and science; and it will certainly be a

tiles.—Each of the latter has her regular duties assigned to her, either in the kitchen, at the loom, embroidering, needle-work, or the washing tub! It is easy to conceive how an English mother would be astonished to see the youngest of these, scarcely yet in her ninth year, a perfect sylph in form and agility, occupied in all the business of house-keeping. The eldest, who was in her fourteenth year, had been betrothed for some time, and has probably been ere now led to the hymeneal altar. Young as she was then, the bridal clothes and household linen, nearly all made and woven by her own hands, were ready; she gave me specimens of her weaving in silk, that would not disgrace our best artisans of Spitalfields. The whole of this amiable and interesting family, whose attentions were unceasing, vied with each other, in civilities to Luriottis, who also resided in the same house as myself.

The education of these girls, besides a thorough knowledge of domestic concerns, does not go beyond reading, writing, and a limited share of arithmetic: and I could perceive from their natural aptness as well as the eagerness with which they sought for information on every point connected with the manners and usages of other nations, that they were capable of rapid advancement in all those accomplishments, which give our women the superiority.

What the venerable and virtuous Bishop of Blois calls domesticity, and has made the subject of his valuable essay, is no where on so good a footing as in Greece. The practice of sending their children out to be nursed, is scarcely ever resorted to by Greek mothers; where a weak constitution or other causes, renders it necessary to have recourse to a nurse, she is brought into the house, and rarely quits it till death, or ill health compels her to leave it. The Greek nurse becomes, in fact, completely identified with the family, and what is more, her husband is generally either employed in the house, or at all events by the master of the family. But the ties between

triumphant day, when schools and colleges begin to rear their heads amidst the ignorance and darkness to which she has been condemned for so many ages.

With respect to the women of Greece; I have on a former occasion borne testimony to their excellent qualities, and I will challenge any other nation, to furnish a more engaging catalogue of domestic virtues, than is to be found in that country; nor are these confined to a particular class;

masters and servants do not stop here. The children of the nurse, if not very numerous, are brought up in the house, and treated with almost the same attention as those of her mistress. The servant, who attended us at Tripolizza, had been twenty-one years in the family, and had nursed all the children, while her daughter, a child of seven years old, was on a perfect equality with the rest.

I have already had occasion to observe, that hundreds of Turkish children, whose parents have either fled or perished since the revolution, have been adopted in Greek families of every class. The gaiety and cheerfulness which form so distinguished a feature in the national character of Greece, were exemplified in the amusements of this family, where the song, the dance and the gambol, filled up almost every moment that was abstracted from the more solid occupations of the domestic circle. I regret to say that music is in as backward a state in Greece, as painting and sculpture.

The religious duties of the above family were performed in the house most scrupulously, twice every day during my stay, and in adding that the greatest harmony seemed to prevail, it is equally due to the excellent Giorgio Joannis to state, that in the whole of my intercourse with society, I never met a family possessing more apparent goodness of heart, modesty and propriety of conduct, than his amiable wife and fascinating daughters.

they pervade the whole frame of society. Although it is true that the calumniators of the Greeks have chiefly confined their strictures to those who come in contact with their mercantile views, it is yet but justice to repeat, that the graces of modesty, gentleness of manner, benevolence and resignation under the severest trials, are no where more practised than among the women of Greece.

In alluding to the vices of the Greeks, a most instructive lesson might be drawn from tracing their perfect analogy to the system of government, under which they have groaned during the last four centuries. When the wanton cruelty and habitual extortion of their Turkish masters are considered, can it for one moment be a matter of surprise, if the Greeks are suspicious, vindictive, jealous and avaricious? was not the whole of their time passed in devising means of avoiding those acts of violence and oppression, which were invariably hatched in secret, and suddenly inflicted. Did a day pass without some vexation, calculated to awaken vengeance; and what could be more natural than to contract a fondness for that, which they were in constant fear of losing through fraud or force.

Candour requires it to be acknowledged, that neither the conduct of the cabinets towards Greece, since her resuscitation, nor that of their Christian brethren generally, is by any means calculated to render them less suspicious; nor will

the other vices with which they are charged, be ever removed, until institutions and a system of general education shall have obliterated the baleful impressions of tyranny and misrule.

It has been a too prevalent custom with writers, who have written in favor of the Greek cause, to admit the degeneracy of the people, and argue on it, as if all that had been circulated by the enemies of the Greeks were perfectly true. The same error has been fallen into, with regard to the Greek church, and such is the ignorance on the subject in England, that it is not unusual for the people gravely to ask whether the Greeks are Christians? I have endeavoured to show that with the exception of their enmity to the Turks, which is from the nature of things ungovernable and unconquerable, there is as much, if not more virtue among the Greek peasantry, than any other of Europe. It is probable that the Greek church would bear a comparison with that of every other Christian sect. Like all others, the heads of the Greek hierarchy maintain that they have departed less from the doctrines and rites of the primitive church, than any other class of Christians whatever, and that the superstitions of the Greek church are fewer. That Christianity has suffered, both in the letter and practice in Greece as well as other places, need not be wondered at, when all the vicissitudes to which it has been exposed, are taken into the account. It is greatly to the credit of the Greek

clergy, that with the exception of the most ignorant portion of the caloyers, or itinerant preachers, they are sensible of the defects which time has produced; and that they regard the political regeneration of Greece, as the certain prelude to a reform in the Greek church.*

* In defending themselves against the aspersions which are constantly cast on their superstition and form of worship, the Greeks boast, and justly so, that the absurd dogma of purgatory has never formed any part of their belief, nor has their ritual been disgraced by that unintelligible mixture of ethics and fanaticism, called the creed of St. Athanasius, which continues to do such irreparable injury to Protestantism.

M. de Stourdza, known by his political pamphlets written under the auspices of the Emperor Alexander, has also published a polemical tract, in which he vindicates the Greek church, and endeavours to prove that it is the only one which has retained the letter and spirit of that established by Christ, and preached by his disciples. The supremacy of the Pope, and mode in which it was acquired, are ably treated by the author.

It is somewhat ludicrous to hear the members of the Greek persuasions called schismatics by their Catholic rivals, while they in their turn regard Catholicism as a complete perversion of Christianity. It is worthy of remark that there is only one class of sectarians in the Greek church: this forms but a very small proportion of the community, and is known in Greece by the name of ἡνωμένοι, or the *united:* it merely acknowledges the papal supremacy, which forms the only difference between its tenets and those of the Greek church. Among the projects formed at Rome, since the insurrection of Greece broke out, it is said that every effort will be made to bring the schismatics over to the true faith. Whether it arose from any ulterior views of this sort, or the characteristic benevolence of Pius VII. the mild and humane policy adopted by that Pontiff, towards the unfortunate Greeks, who sought a refuge at

Upon the whole, while I do not deny that many of the vices inseparable from slavery, may be laid to the charge of a people, which has not only been exposed to the most degrading domination ever experienced by any nation, but has been grossly calumniated by those co-religionists who had abandoned them to their fate; I maintain that the abuses of united government and religion have done infinitely less towards debasing the Greek character than they have in any country in Europe.*

Ancona, during his life time, forms the best panegyric of the late Holy Father. Nor should the name of Monsignor Benvenuti, the papal delegate at Ancona, be deprived of that praise which is so justly due to him, for the readiness he invariably evinced, in carrying the wishes of his master into effect.

* It is truly pleasing to be enabled to give the opinion formed by such a discriminating writer, as Mr. Galt, in contradiction to the trite calumnies and miserable verbiage of Sir William Gell, and many others who have laboured to depreciate the Greek character. "If I were called upon," says Mr. Galt, in his letters from the Levant, "to give a general opinion of the Greeks, as they are at this moment, I should find myself obliged to declare, notwithstanding my partiality for my own countrymen, that in point of capacity, they are the first people I have had an opportunity of observing. They have generally more acuteness and talent than I can well describe. I do not mean information or wisdom: but only this, that their actions are, to a surprising degree of minuteness, guided by judgment. They do nothing without having reflected on the consequences." This energetic sketch of the Greeks is drawn to the life. But I cannot deny myself the pleasure of following it up with a few lines extracted from the *Scotsman*, a paper which has been highly distinguished for the strength and eloquence of its

articles on the Greek cause. After inserting the above remaks of Mr. Galt, the writer observes, "Instead of raising an outcry about their degradation, we may rather wonder that the national genius has triumphed so much over the disadvantages of its situation. What other people, placed under the barbarising yoke of the Turks, has retained or acquired the tenth part of their activity, intelligence and civilisation? amidst all their misfortunes, they have never forgotten their country; and humiliating as their lot has been, they are still proud of their name and lineage. Considering the Turks as intruders, they have never renounced the hope of seeing them expelled, nor have they relied on foreign aid: on the contrary, sensible that knowledge and union are the sources of strength, they have laboured incessantly to spread the means of information; they have established schools, translated French and English works into Romaic, and by drawing the attention of their countrymen to their ancient history, they have taught them what Greece may become by her own resources, and kindled in them an emulation of the spirit of their ancestors. While we speak of their protracted slavery, we should not forget its cause. Had they yielded up their faith as easily as the clergy of England did in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they would have escaped that oppression at the hands of the Turks, and that abuse at the hands of some of their brother Christians, which their constancy has entailed on them."

The following anecdote, illustrative of the veneration in which the Greeks held the immortal bard of Scio, is extracted from an account of the expedition sent into the Mediterranean in 1789, under Orloff.

Captain Plagent, who commanded one of the ships in this expedition, going on shore at Naxos, took an old school edition of the Iliad which he happened to have on board, and showed it to some of the natives, who begged it of him with the most earnest importunity. The Captain complied with their wishes; and on going on shore again the next day, he saw an old man with his back to a wall reading the speeches of the ancient Greek heroes with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of fourteen or fifteen persons!

CHAP. XV.

Population of Greece estimated.—Revenue and Resources.—Comparison between Monarchical and Federal Government as applicable to Greece.—Foreign Interference.—Internal Dissensions.—Consideration of the idea entertained of accommodition and submission to the Porte.—Results to be anticipated from the establishment of a powerful Independent State in Greece.—Policy of Continental Powers and interest of England in such establishment considered.

So contradictory are the accounts, and uncertain the data hitherto supplied with regard to the population of Greece, that it would be altogether impossible to attempt any thing more than an approximation to this primary source of national wealth and greatness. If an estimate was difficult before the insurrection, it has been much more so since, owing to the fact of whole communities having been either swept away by massacres, or forced to change their position and seek a refuge

in foreign countries. The number of Greeks in the Morea for instance, which did not exceed a hundred and fifty thousand, previous to the war, has now been more than doubled by the arrivals from every quarter of the confederation, notwithstanding the ravages to which the whole of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia, has been subjected. I should, from all the enquiries I have been enabled to make, estimate the number of Greeks in these three divisions of the confederation at a million of souls. Livadia, Attica, and Negropont are said by well informed Greeks to contain three hundred thousand souls, thus making a grand total for continental Greece of one million six hundred thousand, a number which I feel assured will be found under-rated whenever the census contemplated by the Provisional Government shall be taken.

With respect to the Islands of the Archipelago, those gems of the Mediterranean, so sanctified by every glorious and delightful recollection, so richly endowed with all that constitutes strength and beauty, there is less difficulty in stating the number of their inhabitants, since no material change has been effected in their numbers by the war. Candia alone, unquestionably the most prolific and beautiful spot on earth for its extent, contains at least two hundred thousand Greeks. The population of the other Islands, including Cyprus, Rhodes, and Mytelene, three points of

infinite wealth and importance, may be estimated at four hundred thousand souls. If to the foregoing calculation be added above a million and a half scattered about in the principalities, Asia Minor, Thrace, Bulgaria, and the different countries of Europe, the whole number of Greeks may, for the present at least, be given at four millions. Of the Greeks thus dispersed, it is well known that numbers are continually flocking to the standard of independence, and that such is the anxiety of these people to re-establish themselves, that there is every probability of those who are now retained in distant points, gaining the confederation as soon as the situation of affairs and their circumstances will admit. Indeed it is not likely that any Greek would remain under the sway of Turkey or Russia, while freedom and regeneration invited their return to the most desirable region and finest climate in the world.

Should the people of Greece secure the advantages they have gained, it is surely no exaggeration to say, that, with a population at once so ingenious and industrious, a climate unequalled, and a soil the most productive that could be named, their prospect of wealth and prosperity is almost boundless. In whatever direction a traveller casts his eyes over Greece, he may truly exclaim that it is a land flowing with milk and honey; unlike the staples of other countries, those of Greece are such as can never be depreciated.

Cambrics, sugar, coffee, cochineal, and indigo, may be either dispensed with, or be so plentiful as to glut the market: not so with the corn, wine, and oil; the silks and wools of Greece: these will find a sure sale while civilisation and its concomitants, trade and population, continue to advance.* However invidious it may be thought

* Nothing but the immense resources of Greece could have enabled her to carry on a contest by sea and land against the whole power of the Porte, supported, as it has been, by the agents of foreign powers, and those sordid traders of Smyrna, Constantinople, and Zante, who have been the suppliers and carriers to the infidels ever since the commencement of the struggle; and, when it is considered that the Greeks have maintained the war for nearly three years, without contracting a single debt abroad, or having recourse to a foreign loan, our wonder must be still greater.

If any thing were wanting to prove the total ignorance in which the public continues with regard to the state of Greece generally, it would be found in the depreciation experienced by the small sum of £800,000, recently negociated on our own stock exchange by my excellent friends Messrs. Orlando and Luriottis; a sum which the smallest island in the Archipelago would be justified in borrowing, and fully able to repay.

It is confidently asserted that the depreciation in the Greek loan has been caused by the insinuations of a leading Jew capitalist: if so, nothing can be so unworthy or illiberal. Surely that person must know that of all the countries or governments who have borrowed money in London within the last ten years, not excepting those for whom he has himself been the agent and contractor, Greece possesses the surest and most ample means of repayment.

Is it not enough, I would ask, that the Jews should have borne so conspicuous a part in the massacres of Constantinople, Smyrna,

to institute a comparison between the Greeks and those nations of the southern hemisphere, who have shaken off a yoke scarcely less galling than that of the infidels, the immense superiority of the former in almost every quality and attribute required by those who would enter the arduous career of national independence, must strike the most superficial observer. In a moral point of view, tyranny, though it may have trod upon the people of Greece, and made them suffer every species of violence, it neither broke their spirit, nor made them forget their glorious ancestry; while it is but an act of justice to admit, that christianity, however degenerate in their hands, did not become the source of incalculable crime, or the universal sapper of morality and virtue.

and Salonica, without attempting to injure the fame and blast the hopes of the Greek people in England? And what construction can be put on such conduct, when it is asserted that the only hope the Jews have of being ever re-established on the soil of their ancestors depends on the consolidation of a power in Greece? Paradoxical as the project of restoring the race of Abraham and Isaac may appear, it has been entertained, and propositions on the subject reached the provisional government during my visit to the Morea; not with any view of their being carried into immediate effect, for that was impossible, but as a matter for future consideration. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the jealousy and hatred which has long prevailed between the two sects, and which the atrocious conduct of the Jewish rabble of the capital, Macedon, and Asia Minor, has tended to increase ten-fold, render any early approximation quite impracticable.

Whether I look to the hardy population of Greece, fitted alike for war or agriculture; to her marine of several thousand ships, and above twenty thousand seamen, the most expert in Europe, or to her bays and harbours more numerous and magnificent than any other country on earth, I should have no hesitation whatever in estimating the physical strength of regenerated Greece to be fully equal to that of the whole South American continent.

It was my intention to have entered into a minute examination of the policy adopted by the members of the Holy Alliance and our own ministers, towards Greece, since the commencement of her eventful struggle; but as this would lead into details for which there is neither time nor space left me at present, it must, like many other points, be reserved for future discussion.

While the provisional government and people of Greece are full of gratitude towards those generous spirits of Europe, who have come forward to soothe and assist them in this great trial of suffering and of sorrow, they know how to discriminate between the cabinets, allotting to each that share of obloquy which has fixed an indelible stain on statesmen, who could have so far misconceived the interests of Europe and of mankind, as to endeavour to thwart the success of a design, in which the interposition of the Divinity is, perhaps, more self-evident than in any other that could be cited. Look-

ing too at the political system adopted since the fall of Napoleon, and the monstrous doctrines not only promulgated, but put into practice, from the partitions and spoliations decreed at Vienna in 1816, up to the invasion of Naples and subjugation of Spain in the present year, well may the Greeks look forward with mingled distrust and apprehension, lest, when they shall have fought the battle and gained the victory, others may come in and enjoy the triumph.

Although I cannot believe in the possibility of such an event, it would surely be a more scandalous violation of justice and natural right, than has disgraced the annals of Europe since the partition of Poland, were any of the great powers either singly or together to come forward in the present stage of the Greek contest, and dictate a form of government to the people of Greece; much less to name a person to preside over their destinies. In allusion to those vague reports which are seldom without some foundation, either in the never ceasing projects of those who make a trade of human liberty, or among the statesmen who move the springs of the Holy Alliance, it is, at least, due to the Greeks that careful enquiry should be made as to the genius and habits of the people, as well as their general interests and wishes, before any attempt be made to introduce the monarchical system among them. So far as my own observation and enquiry have extended, I should

not hesitate to say, that any departure from the federative system of Switzerland will be attended with positive injury to Greece, and will totally neutralise all the beneficial effects to be anticipated from her regeneration. Though it may be safely asserted that the Greek people possess less of the revolutionary spirit, attributed to them by the Emperor Alexander and the Congress of Verona, than any other nation of Europe, it is equally true that there are no elements in Greece for establishing a monarchy. To say nothing of the endless expence and complicated machinery of such a government, where could a prince sent into Greece by the Holy Alliance find an aristocracy? With the exception of the primates, whose character has been drawn in a former chapter, the most perfect equality reigns throughout all classes, though this never degenerates into anarchy or a due want of respect. In addition to what has been said of the primates, it should be here observed, that from their former connection with the Turks, and their ready acquiescence in carrying the system of tyranny and extortion of the infidels into effect, they are, with a few honourable exceptions, regarded as the greatest obstacles to the happiness of Greece and the consolidation of the government. Supposing, for a moment, that the great powers contemplate placing a sovereign over the Greek people, would it be wise or politic to confer titles and distribute ribbons to some of

the worst men and most unpopular individuals in the country? In rejecting their services on the other hand, he would create such a number of vindictive and powerful enemies, as might neutralize all his efforts to do good, if it did not endanger his power. For these men, in addition to their being deeply versed in the low intrigue and artful chicane, which so frequently find their way into courts, and compose all the political knowledge of the men to whom I allude, have contrived to possess themselves of nearly all the wealth of the nation. The condition of a prince who should come to Greece, followed by a train of greedy and rapacious dependents, such as he might so easily select in any part of civilized Europe, may be readily conceived, and requires no comment.

While the disjointed and isolated nature of the Greek provinces, must add greatly to the difficulties of establishing a monarchy, by destroying that principle of unity so essential to such a form of government, this circumstance is highly favourable to the federative system, which can be maintained at a comparatively trifling expence, while it gives that dignity to each section of the confederation, without which, I really believe the Greeks would never appreciate the blessings of independence and freedom. In closing the few remarks which I am now enabled to offer on the above important subject, it may be proper to add, that I am convinced I have expressed the universal

sense of the Greek people, in recommending a federative rather than a monarchical form of government.

Among other objections urged against the Greeks being able to constitute themselves into a nation, it has been said that there is not a sufficient share of talent amongst their public men to fill the offices, or wield the energies of a regular government; that they are distracted among themselves; that nothing but foreign interference will enable them to obtain the blessings of regular government. With respect to the first objection, I admit that it would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to find the train of placemen included within the catalogue of ministers, secretaries, chamberlains, clerks, and that interminable list of *employés* required in a monarchy; but let the federative system, the best and cheapest of all governments, be established, and Greece will be found to possess a far greater portion of really learned and well-educated men, than the whole of the South American republics put together.*

* Although general politics have occupied a greater share of attention in Greece than the mere abstract branches of legislation, still have many of the Greek students profited largely by the most popular and celebrated writers on public law and civil rights. The favourite authors are Vattel, Montesquieu, Felangieri, and Bentham, and their works are to be found in several collections. Like the lamented Lord Erskine, whose devotion in the cause of Greece shed such a bright halo round the last days

The dissensions of Greece have been a fertile source of delight to the enemies of the cause without, as it must be confessed, they are one of its most corroding gangrenes within. But setting aside those innumerable causes of disunion arising from the late system, which was a refinement on the maxim of *divide et impera*, so well known in other countries of Europe, a system which laboured to place every family in hostility with each other, and would not allow harmony to exist, is it for the politicians of Europe, where faction and party reign triumphant, to reproach a people with their divisions, who have thrown off a yoke like that of Turkey, and been left to struggle for existence during three years, without aid from any quarter? While those dissensions cannot be too deeply deplored, it is of importance to state, that they are confined to a very limited number of individuals, while the greatest harmony of thought and action has invariably pre-

of that great and good man, Mr. Bentham has given up all the energies of his powerful mind to the subject; and though Greece may not be enabled to profit by his sublime and benevolent labours so soon as the friends of humanity could wish, she already appreciates their value, with a degree of gratitude and zeal that does her public men and citizens the very highest honour.

Here I would have most willingly stopped to give some account of those men in Greece whose talents and virtues deserve to be better known in Europe; but want of time obliges me to defer the pleasure I should have derived from the performance of so pleasing a duty, till a future day, which is not, I trust, far distant.

vailed between the people and their representatives. This has been exemplified in so many instances, that it is a just theme of surprise and admiration with those who have watched the progress of the struggle on the spot.*

* It is a most remarkable fact, that in all the disputes which have arisen between the leaders in Greece, the people have invariably maintained the strictest neutrality, never taking any share or mixing themselves up with either party. It would, in truth, be impossible to witness the celebrated, but not always infallible, maxim of *vox populi vox dei* more exactly realised than in the undeviating line of conduct observed by a people who had been so long erased from the list of nations.

As connected with this subject the circumstance detailed in my correspondence from Tripolizza, is conclusive, and deserves to be repeated here. Colocotroni, whose ridiculous ambition and want of judgment, aided by the intrigues of a wretched adventurer called Negris, who obtained the place of secretary of state in 1822, had succeeded in forming a small party against the executive in the early part of June, retired to a neighbouring village with the soldiers whom he had in his immediate pay. A string of conditions was thence sent to government, setting forth the only terms upon which the refractory chief and his companions would continue to acknowledge its authority. At this critical juncture, when, as in other cases, the executive really possessed no means of making itself respected, it was apprehended by many of the Greeks themselves that a counter-revolution might be the consequence of Colocotroni's folly. But what was the fact? The executive replied, that it was willing to submit all matters at issue to the representatives of the people assembled in the legislative body, who were alone competent to decide between the parties. Not satisfied with this answer, the dissentients sent emissaries in various directions to apprise the

The extreme poverty of the government, and wealth of those who are so senseless as to imagine that they can have any interests separate from their rulers, will at once account for the dissensions which have unhappily taken place. Nor can it be denied that, considering the ignorance and want of principle betrayed by those captains and primates of the Morea, who have been the sole promoters of discord, they may still continue to retard the great work of social and political

local authorities that the functions of the executive were suspended; and calling upon them to wait until a new set of members should assume the reins of government. Every one of these, without a single exception, was not only treated with the greatest contempt, but in some places narrowly escaped being stoned to death by the populace. As to the leader of this cabal, he was in less than three days after withdrawing from the seat of government, left without a single attendant, and quite abandoned, when a deputation of citizens, who were anxious to make up the breach, went forth and brought him back, after which he made his submission before the executive, and entreated they would employ him wherever they thought proper. But the most interesting part of this story remains to be told; happening to attend the deliberations of the legislative body on the following morning, I found the whole of the court-yard, up to the very entrance of the hall, filled with peasants, and from the hundred voices which were raised on every side, I concluded that some new tumult had arisen: what was my surprise, on approaching Orlando, the President, to hear, that the persons, occupying the court-yard and stair-case, were inhabitants of the adjacent villages, who had come to complain of the requisitions made by Colocotroni and his friends, against the whole of whom they loudly invoked all the vengeance of the laws!

organization; but it will be a satisfaction to the friends of Greece to know that these men are not only very few in number, and held in just abhorrence by the people, but so closely watched, that the time is not far distant when they will be called upon to render a terrible account for their misdeeds and perfidy.

Had it not been for the new aspect assumed by the affairs of Greece, and those daily encreasing successes which leave the conquest of their independence beyond any farther doubt, I should have felt myself called upon to offer a few remarks on a suggestion that was put forth at an earlier period of the contest, but which is now happily exploded. I allude to the possibility of an accommodation between the Greeks and their late tyrants. Monstrous as this thought now appears, I am sure it was brought forward with the best intentions, and in the hope that a still greater catastrophe might be thereby avoided. Had not the Greeks settled this point, both by their conduct and in their public declarations, oft repeated, I should have most certainly raised my feeble voice against an act that would have covered the whole of civilized Europe with irretrievable dishonor and obloquy. It would indeed have been an unexampled perversion of justice and virtue, if, after the patriots had gained their virtual independence by the sacrifice of a hundred thousand of their countrymen, a third party, and that

composed of Christians, had come forward and said, "return to the yoke, and we will take care that you shall be treated better in future." As well might the lion attempt to guarantee the lamb from the jaws of the tiger, as all the powers of Europe combined prevail on the Mahometans to change their nature, and abide any compact which they had previously determined to violate in all its parts.*

In contemplating the probable future destinies of Greece, that is to say, should she be permitted to march onwards towards the goal of freedom and civilization undisturbed, a vast and highly interesting prospect opens to view: this is indeed so extensive and interwoven with all the great interests of society, that a man who indulged in a tenth part of the speculations to which a consideration of the subject gives rise; might well be taken for a visionary, even at a time when the most wild and improbable schemes are not without their admirers and advocates.

* In order to prevent misconception I am bound to request that the above observation may not be construed into any disrespect for the opinions of those who once thought that terms could be made between the Greeks and their tyrants; Mr. C. B. Sheridan was one of those who alluded to the above plan in his able and elegant pamphlet, but has not hesitated to adopt those modifications rendered expedient by subsequent events. I may be here permitted to congratulate the country on possessing a young man who seems to have inherited all those qualities of the head and heart which have conferred immortality on his late father.

Confining myself to the obvious and inevitable results of a Greek empire, founded on the basis of rational freedom and social order, it may surely be hailed as the natural prelude to spreading the seeds of knowledge and civilization throughout the fairest portions of the earth, and which, though so near Europe, have not advanced a single step in either, ever since the establishment of Mahomedanism; a religion framed as if it had been intended to brutalize the human species, and deprive man of all that distinguishes him from the most abject of created beings. With respect to the effects of the Greek revolution in promptly extending the lights of civilization to Asia and Africa, I feel so confident on the subject, that I do not hesitate to prophecy that a very short period must elapse before it seems self-evident to the most short sighted politician, while those who are watching the progress of events in the Mediterranean, already perceive the benign effects of the Greek struggle. Is it for a moment to be imagined, that the successive defeats of those ill-fated hordes whom the Porte has sacrificed year after year in this war, have not been attributable as much to a consciousness that they were contending against justice and virtue, as to their natural incapacity and cowardice? Though it may be impossible to give these wretched instruments of tyranny and brute force credit for reflection or foresight, yet,

are there good grounds for believing, that even the Turkish soldiery has began to think. There has most assuredly been ample cause for this desideratum, and should all I have heard on the subject be true, Europe will not have long to await the consequences. Hopeless as the case may be, who knows but that the miracle of witnessing the sanguinary and destructive doctrines of Mahomet melt away before the light of truth and reason, will yet be added to that of the regeneration of Greece; and surely the most distant probability of such a triumph—a triumph to which all other triumphs would be insignificant, ought to be more than sufficient to open the eyes of the European monarchs, stimulating them to go hand in hand in promoting, instead of thwarting that which could only emanate from a great and omnipotent God, who, whatever sophists may say, or philosophers dream, is *not* indifferent to the happiness of his creatures!

The minor interests of the three great Powers most deeply interested in the result of the Greek struggle, though trifling compared with the foregoing considerations, are still highly important, and deserve to be treated with great delicacy and judgment, to prevent a collision, not less fatal to the interests of humanity than subversive of the peace of Europe. As to the Porte, the person who would say that its power is anything more than nominal, might well be accused of something

beyond a wish to deceive. It is equally certain, that after having been tolerated for three centuries by the mistaken policy or imbecility of its neighbours, it is now so reduced as to render the final crumbling of the crazy and unnatural edifice neither remote nor problematical. The great question which arises, and it is a most difficult one, who is to occupy the ground? Aware of the inconveniences which would necessarily attend too great an extension of their frontier line, the provisional government as well as the best politicians in Greece, have decided that the Axius, or Vandar which separates Thessaly from Macedon, is their best and safest line of demarcation in the north, while they cannot leave those Islands of the Archipelago in which the Greek population predominates, without a dereliction of religion and duty. Should this line be conceded, as there is no doubt of its ultimate conquest, an immense and fertile territory will still remain in the hands of the Turks, and may be retained by the Porte until the arrival of one of those shocks, which it would be arguing a total ignorance of probabilities and natural march of human events, not to anticipate.

Taking it for granted, that Turkey will be allowed to abide those chances to which the best established governments are liable; for in losing Greece, she has only followed the fate of England and France with regard to North America and

St. Domingo, with the very natural difference that the Christian powers had some rights over colonies of their own creation; I can only now foresee a source of dispute in the arrangements with regard to the principalities on the east, and of Bosnia and Servia on the north. However desirous the friends of peace and freedom may be, to check the growing and inevitable power of Russia, it is surely most selfish and ungenerous, to prefer seeing the Turkish yoke prolonged in Moldavia and Wallachia, rather than they should pass under Russian protection. The increase of territory which these two provinces would give to Russia, would certainly be considerable, but a variety of circumstances induce me to believe that their value is greatly over-rated in a political point of view, and that they would not augment her power in any material degree, at least for many years: and time to consolidate the new power is alone required. In all her wars with the Porte, Russia has never experienced the smallest difficulty in occupying these principalities, which, besides having no strong holds, are without ports, the grand object of Russian ambition. That the deplorable state of the unfortunate inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia calls aloud for interference, and that it would be an act of the greatest cruelty again to place them under a power, whose system of rule has caused all their miseries, will scarcely be denied by those who most dread the advance

of Russia on the south. Should any arrangement take place, by which those provinces were enabled to approximate towards liberal institutions, even under the auspices of Russia, every excuse for keeping up the present contentious system with the Porte, must be at once removed, nor would it then be too much for the two powers most interested, to notify to the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, that the passage of the Danube, by a Russian army, would be considered as a declaration of war against them both. Those who are acquainted with the secrets of the diplomatic circles assert, that Austria has said to Russia, on more than one occasion, "If you occupy the principalities in perpetuity, I will incorporate Bosnia and Servia." This species of argument is so consonant with the system of policy usually pursued by the great powers, who seem only intent on enlarging their territory, without any regard to the feelings or interests of those most deeply concerned, that there is probably some truth in the assertion. Be this as it may; if the ambition of Austria is not to be satisfied in any other way, than by the occupation of these two provinces, it would be infinitely better to admit of their appropriation by that power, than to encourage the pretensions which the cabinet of Vienna will be incessantly putting forward with regard to the affairs of Greece and Turkey. Humiliating as it may be to say, in speaking of a Christian state, that it is al-

most doubtful, whether the Bosniaks and Servians would be better under the Turks than under the Austrians, for they are now in the enjoyment of comparative independence; still it may be safely concluded, that they would not lose by the change. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the object of these cursory observations is to prove, that so far as British influence and policy are concerned, neither Russia nor Austria ought to interfere unnecessarily, nor exercise too great a preponderance in the affairs of Turkey; and that however tamely England may look on while these two powers are coming to an understanding with each other about the frontier provinces, which seem, indeed, to be for ever lost to the Porte, one step beyond them should be considered as an act of open hostility to Great Britain.*

* Although great pains have been taken by the French cabinet to open a communication with the Greeks, and acquire popularity among them since the insurrection, it is difficult to foresee in what way it can meddle with the future destinies of Greece, except to gratify some plan of ambition: and it is only in co-operation with Russia that France can hope to carry any of her designs into execution. That an understanding of some kind already exists between the courts of Paris and St. Petersburgh is known from a variety of facts which have transpired, though not very publicly; but by none so much as the truly Quixotic project of resuscitating the long extinguished and exploded order of Malta; by far the most ridiculous scheme that has entered the brains of certain politicians for many years. As if any person possessing a grain of common sense could separate such a project from a systematic plan of the two powers who have set it on foot, to establish them-

Should the smallest importance be attached to the desultory thoughts thus thrown out, it is scarcely necessary to say, that a new and highly interesting field is opened to British policy in the east of Europe. Although there are persons who perceived that we might have achieved wonders soon after the victories in Egypt, capture of Malta, and more especially, the acquisition of the Ionian Islands, individuals who must ever deplore the manner in which such a combination of advantageous circumstances has been neglected, both as they regard our relations with the Barbary pirates and other states bordering on the Mediterranean,* it has now become doubly incum-

selves in the Mediterranean, not only prevent the Greeks from constituting themselves into a nation, but supplant England. It was worthy of those who invented this notable project, to propose the raising of a loan in London, to pay the Greeks for the cession of such islands in the Archipelago as are required for the would-be-restored Knights of St. John!—islands which the Greeks could no more cede in the present state of the war, than the Turks could transfer Jamaica or Guadaloupe to a third power. Should this combination of France and Russia, with regard to the Mediterranean and Greece continue, the policy of England and Austria is too obvious to require any illustration with regard to the Greeks: I am justified in saying, that they would look upon the establishment of a monastic order, like that of Malta, in their neighbourhood, as an insurmountable obstacle to the future prosperity of Greece, if not to the consolidation of its independence.

* Mr. Locker, to whom the public was indebted for such enlarged views relative to Sicily, also furnished some truly valuable hints on the policy dictated by our interest with regard to Greece

bent on England to take care that neither her power shall be sapped, nor her popularity totally destroyed in this quarter, and it is only by the nomination of men distinguished for their talents, humanity and virtue, that this object can be attained. If it has been among the most palpable political errors of a late minister, that he thought it of very little consequence whether we were beloved or hated in the Ionian Islands, his successors will know how to appreciate a policy not less injurious to England than derogatory from the character of a wise statesman; while it requires but a very small portion of sagacity to perceive that the time has arrived, when conciliation and

and the Archipelago; and Mr. Eton did so in a still greater degree. Indeed, the conjectures of the last named writer bear all the evidence of prophecy from late events. Numbers might be named who called the attention of our ministers to the subject during the war; but it seems that our diplomatic routine in determining to support the Porte, at any price, prevented the smallest attention being paid to such applications. Colonel Rooke, an eccentric, but very intelligent traveller, who had passed nearly twenty years in Greece, and amongst the Islands of the Archipelago, favoured me with the perusal of a most able memoir on the subject, written while on a visit he made to Malta, in 1809, and which was soon after transmitted to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, under the auspices of a noble Lord who is very well known in the Mediterranean. There is reason to believe that this document is still amongst the papers in the foreign office. It is principally valuable as proving the sentiments of the Greeks, and their disposition to coalesce with any power disposed to aid in their liberation.

atonement are alone likely to regain the good opinion and confidence of a people whose attachment has become of infinite importance within the last three years.*

* However anxious I may feel to avoid every thing savouring of personality in these pages, there are cases in which the interests of my country, no less than those of truth, require a departure from the general rule: and it is indeed impossible to pass over the conduct of the consuls employed by the Levant Company towards the Greeks, without describing it as most disgraceful to England, and injurious to the British character. There is no necessity for naming the individuals comprised in this remark, they are too well known to require any further exposure, and too deeply marked with the execration of a whole people to render any additional epithets necessary.

Without now entering into an examination of the total inutility of continuing the charter of a company of traders to the Levant, or expatiating on the positive mischief done to commerce by its existence, it is chiefly important to call the attention of Ministers to the abuses which are practised by the monstrous privilege of covering foreign bottoms with our flag in the Mediterranean, and allowing consuls intended to represent a great nation, and to support its dignity, to enter into all the grovelling speculations of petty traders. It is a fact worthy of notice, that although there is not an individual in the foreign office, even to the lowest clerk, ignorant of the glaring defects of our consular system, and that although the evils connected with it have been accumulating for these twenty years, not a single measure should have been adopted in the whole of that long space to remedy the inconveniences so often and loudly complained of, while other countries have made such immense strides in diplomacy of every kind.

The striking contrast between the policy of Russia towards the Ionian Islands, and that adopted by ourselves, is worthy of the most particular attention on the part of government. As if they had only waited for an opportunity of proving their anxiety

With respect to the part we have to act towards Greece and Turkey, it is at once the most difficult and enviable which ever fell to the lot of England; and one in which a minister might immortalise his name. Although there is at this period of the contest between the Christians and their infidel oppressors, no merit in perceiving that we are bound by every tie, human and divine, to espouse the cause of religion and humanity, yet, is there a noble field open for mediation and council, environed as the Porte is by enemies who only seek its destruction; there is no power to which it can look for support but England; and the time may even arrive, when, rather than see it crushed by a third party, we should become its allies, as on former occasions. How important, therefore, is it, that

to promote the happiness of the Greeks, their first measure was the establishment of a septinsular republic. This of itself, unattended by any advantages, had a wonderful effect in securing popularity. But the Russians did more: they set about correcting many of the abuses, and though the state of Europe, as well as the exhausted condition of the Islands, rendered it impossible to make any very rapid advances towards improvement, nothing could be more conciliatory than the general tendency of their system of government. The similarity of religion, and frequent intermarriages between Russians and natives, have had a great effect in perpetuating the sentiments which still prevail in favour of Russia.

It was Russia that first adopted the excellent idea of organizing the Greeks into regular regiments.

we should prevent the prosecution of a contest, which, if continued another year or two, will utterly exhaust the power of Turkey, and place it at the mercy of the first comer? On the other hand, does not humanity and policy dictate, that a stop should be put to the effusion of human blood and protraction of human misery, which cannot be of any earthly use. It is notorious, that besides the loss of two hundred thousand souls, Turkey has expended more money in prosecuting the war in Greece, than she ever did while engaged in hostility with Russia herself.

But I will not pursue a subject which must be so obvious to the most superficial reasoners, and in concluding these remarks, I have merely to express a hope that, without arrogating any undue influence over Greece, or shewing that there is the smallest tincture of selfishness in our policy towards that country, our cabinet may know how to convince the people, that, if it be the interest of England to prevent the Porte from too sudden a dissolution, it is infinitely more important for her glory and interests, that a new and powerful state should be established in the east of Europe.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE GREEKS.

The Greek Nation, wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representatives, met in a national assembly, its independence.

Descendants of a generous and enlightened nation, witnesses of the happiness which the sacred ægis of law secures to the civilized nations of Europe! Ye all know, that the measure of our sufferings was full. It was impossible for us any longer to bear, without being charged with cowardice and stupidity, the cruel scourge of Ottoman rule. Has not the Turk, during four centuries, trampling under foot reason and justice, disposed of us as his caprice prompted? We flew to arms then, in order to avenge the injuries which an insolent tyrant had heaped on our country; injuries utterly unexampled, and which left far behind it all the various shapes of oppression which have ever desolated and dyed the earth with carnage.

Our warfare against the Turks, far from being the effect of a seditious and jacobinical movement, or the pretext of an ambitious faction, is a national war, undertaken for the sole purpose of reconquering our rights, and securing our existence and honour. In vain did injustice, by depriving us of all securities, hope to stifle in our hearts the conviction of their necessity. As if, formed out of the vilest materials, we were condemned by nature to perpetual servitude; doomed to crouch beneath the wild sway of ferocious tyrants, who came from afar to subdue and to crush us! No, a thousand ages of proscription would not bar the sacred rights, whose creation was the work of nature herself. They were torn from us by violence; and violence, more righteously directed, may one day win them back, and hold them forth in all their reviving brilliancy to the admiration of the universe. In a word, they are rights which we have never ceased reclaiming in the very heart of our country, by every method which occasional opportunities placed in our power.

Strong in these principles, and wishing to advance as the equals of the Christians of Europe, in the paths of civilization, we combined into one great war all the partial and secret conflicts which we had long waged against the Ottoman empire. We swore to conquer, and to behold our country governed by just laws, or to disappear from the face of the earth. During ten months God has blest our steps in this glorious but rugged road. Our arms have been often victorious, but often they have experienced resistance. We are struggling to remove the obstacles which retard our triumph. Our political organization was then deferred, and the nation, solely occupied in repelling a lasting danger, foresaw that appearance of disorder which ever follows great convulsions, and which the injudicious alone can make a matter of reproach against us.

As soon as circumstances allowed us to think of a plan of government, we saw the Greek continent of the east and west, the Peloponnesus, and the islands, successively proceed in their organization, and prepare the way for that general constitutional system which was necessary to direct the progress of our revolution. For this purpose, the deputies of the provinces and of the islands, being duly authorised, and having met in a national assembly, and after deliberately considering the state of the country, have decreed the basis and the provisional form of the government which is to preside over the future destinies of your country. This government, founded on justice, instituted by universal consent, is now the only legitimate and national government. The nations of Greece will therefore hasten to recognise it.

Two august bodies, the executive power and the senate, will be at the head of the administration, supported by the judicial power, which will discharge its duties quite independently of the former.

The assembly declares to the nation, that, having completed its task, it this day dissolves itself. It is the duty of the nation to submit to the laws and the authorities which emanate from it. Grecians! but a little while since, ye said, "no more slavery!" and the power of the tyrant has vanished. But it is concord alone which can consolidate your liberty and independence. The assembly offers up its prayers, that the mighty arm of the Most High may raise the nation towards the sanctuary of his eternal wisdom. Thus discerning their true interests, the magistrates, by a vigilant foresight, the people by a sincere devotion, will succeed in founding the long-desired prosperity of our common country.

EPIDAURUS, *The 15th of January*, 1822, }
and the First Year of Independence. }

No. II.

DECLARATION TO THE CHRISTIAN POWERS.

The great struggle in which the Greek nation is engaged, has occupied Europe, as it will the pens of historians. From the first moment, all hearts, imbued with honor and sensibility, applauded these words—"Greece is fighting for liberty." A prey to the most humiliating and severe oppression, she excited the pity of the whole civilized world. Humanity loudly claimed the deliverance of her benefactress. Justice, prostrate before the throne of the Most High, accused those who profaned the mysteries of Christ, plundered all property, and caused the tears of the widow and the orphan to flow.

Whence comes it that European policy, far from aiding such virtuous efforts, suffers itself to be deceived as to their tendency? Whence comes it, that an unprecedented malevolence endeavoured to calumniate the views of an oppressed nation, and to darken the brilliancy of actions which needed not excuse! Had not the insurrection at once its reason and justification in previous oppression? Was not armed Despair the only protector capable of redressing our wrongs? Whatever may have been the occasion on which the revolution burst forth, whatever may have been the circumstances of its origin, it is proved to have been founded on the universal discontent, whose consequences were sooner or later to include all Greece in one conflagration. The Greeks were serving foreign masters, inexorable tyrants, insatiable tigers! No compact bound them to the foreign power, which in the madness of its pride, claimed to rule them by mere brute force for ever—The time was come, *not* to overthrow a national and respected sovereignty, for some chimera of perfectibility,

but to break a sceptre of iron, to repel force by force, and to substitute immutable rights to atrocious realities. Besides, what disasters could be feared, greater or more monstrous than those which were afflicting Candia, Epirus, and the Morea? An execrable administration was sucking the last drop of blood from the veins of the political body. The complaints of the oppressed expired before they reached the Sublime Porte, as Destiny, that merciless goddess, used to see the incense of mortals melt away before her temple of iron. Already a conversion to Mahometanism appeared their sole safe-guard to the wretched population; and what would have become of the sacred claims which the Gospel has acquired to the pious gratitude of the Greeks? Would Europe have wished to see the consummation of this gigantic act of apostacy? Would she, though proud of a Christian Holy Alliance, have sanctioned afresh the triumph of the Arabian code over Christianity, of barbarism over civilization?

We did right in taking up arms, if it was only to fall with honor; and when the first step was trodden, it was necessary to advance. The revolution, popular in its motives, became still more so in its progress. The frightful acts of vengeance exercised on so many distinguished persons, on so many illustrious families, pointed out the abyss into which the entire nation would fall, if it had the baseness to yield. What security could it obtain against the violators of all law? It is thus that the Greeks have chosen the desperate alternative of perishing or of being delivered. And they would in fact have perished, if Providence had not hitherto vouchsafed the miracle of our successes. For the last thirteen months, God has aided the work of the righteous. They see the all-powerful hand, which created this harmonious system of worlds, laid heavily on both nations and kings, repairing the ravages of time,

and distributing the compensations of ages. Greece, abandoned by the rest of the earth, with the volume of her past splendour, and her woes, and her rights, in her hand —Greece will still pursue her arduous career. Her cities sacked, her villages burnt, her population decimated, her fields ravaged, bear witness to her proud determination. Crushed by numbers, she will yet wash out her defeats in her blood. What will be the feelings of Europe towards her? Assembled Greece has solemnly proclaimed her independence, and has given herself a government, surrounded by national emblems, having for its first object the welfare of Greece, and not the interest of a party. This legitimate organ of the nation has thought it due equally to itself and to the people, to lay the preceding statement before the Christian Powers.* Honor and hope will guide Grecian constancy through the gloom of futurity. The Greeks aim at peace combined with independence, and at the political fruits of civilization. They protest beforehand against any violation of their rights, so lately purchased by the most heroic sacrifices. In a word, humanity, religion, interest, all plead in their favour. It is for the powers of Christendom to decide on this occasion, what legacy they propose bequeathing to history, and to posterity.

Given at Corinth the 15th April, 1822.

The members of the Central Government of Greece,

A. MAVROCORDATO, *President*,
ATHANASIUS CANACARI, *Vice-President*,
ANAGNOSTI PAPPAIANNOPOULO,
JOANIS ORLANDO,
JOANIS LOGOTHETI.

TH. NEGRI.—*The Secretary of State.*

No. III.

TO THE CHRISTIAN MONARCHS MET AT THE CONGRESS OF VERONA.

EIGHTEEN months have elapsed since Greece has been struggling against the enemies of the Christian name. All the forces of Islamism are united against her. All Mussulman Europe, Asia, and Africa, are arming with emulation, in order to support the hand of iron, whose weight has so long pressed upon the Greek nation, and which is now endeavouring to give it the death-blow. Twice, since the commencement of this struggle, has Greece raised her voice, through the medium of her lawful representatives, in order to obtain, if not the aid, at least the neutrality of the Christian powers of Europe.

Now that an assembly of sovereigns is solemnly deliberating in the Italian Peninsula on the great interests of the human race! whilst all nations are expecting from it the maintenance of peace, the security of their rights, and the triumph of justice; the Provisional Government of Greece would think it betrayed its duties, if it did not once more express to the illustrious allies the state of the nation which it represents, its rights and its legitimate wishes, as well as the fixed resolution of every Greek to obtain justice before a tribunal of Christian powers, as we have found favor before the Great Judge of all things, or to die a freeman and Christian. Torrents of blood have been shed; but the banner of the Cross, every where victorious, floats on the ramparts of all the cities of Peloponnesus, in Attica, Eubœa, Bœotia, Acarnania, Ætolia, and in a great part of Thessaly and Epirus, as well as in Crete, and the islands of the Ægean. Such has been the progress, such is the situation of the Greek nation.

In this state of things, it must be evident to all those who are acquainted with Turkey, that the Greeks cannot lay down their arms, before they have obtained, either by force or by some other means, the pledges of an independent and national existence, since these guarantees alone can secure them freedom of worship, and security for the life, property, and honor of every citizen. If Europe, urged by the desire of preserving tranquillity, contents itself with negociating with the Ottoman Porte, in order to include the Greek nation in this system of general peace, the Provisional Government of Greece hastens to declare, by this present document, that it will not conclude any treaty, however advantageous it may be, before its deputies have been admitted to defend its cause, to unfold its grievances, and to make known its rights, its wants, and its dearest interests.

The principles of religion, humanity, and justice, which animate the assembled sovereigns, allow the Provisional Government of Greece to hope that its just claims will be admitted.

If, contrary to all expectation, they are rejected, the present declaration will serve at once as a formal protestation laid by all Greece before the throne of Heavenly Justice, addressed in perfect confidence by a Christian people to Europe, and to the great family of Christianity. Weak and deserted, the Greeks will then have no hope but in the all-powerful God; sustained by his mighty hand they will never bend beneath tyranny.

Since we have remained, through four hundred years of persecution, faithful to our Saviour and Lord, we will, to our dying gasp, defend his holy Church, our hearths, and our tombs; happy, whether we descend to them still Christians and freemen, or conquer, as we have conquered

hitherto, by the force only of the arms of Jesus Christ, and by his heavenly aid.

Given at Argos, this 29th of August, 1822.

(In the absence of the President of the Executive power)

(Signed) ATHANASIUS CANACARI, *Vice-President.*

TH. NEGRI, *Secretary of State.*

No. IV.

REPORT,

Communicated to the Greek Committee, and read at the Meeting of Saturday, September 13, 1823.

PREVIOUSLY to entering into a detail of the state in which I found the affairs of the Confederation on my arrival in the Morea, it may not be improper to make some allusion to the circumstances which led to my visiting Greece; more especially, as a misunderstanding seems to exist on a point, which has evidently been most prejudicial to the interests of the Greeks, and which, if suffered to continue, must produce still greater injury: I allude to the origin and formation of your committee.

It is unnecessary for me to dwell on those causes which prevented a more direct intercourse between the Provisional Government of Greece and England, during the earlier stages of her eventful struggle. Ignorant of the reception which an overture might experience here, and equally so, of the public feeling generally, all that could well be attempted in the first instance, was to send a person to London for the purpose of ascertaining the sentiments of His

Majesty's ministers, and the state of public opinion, with regard to the contest in which the Greeks were engaged. The individual chosen for this object was Andreas Luriottis, whose unimpeachable character, and zeal in the cause of his country, had gained him the confidence of all parties in Greece. He arrived towards the latter end of January in the present year, bringing with him letters of introduction, but without being the bearer of any communication to Government. The individual to whom M. Luriottis was more particularly addressed, having had every reason to believe, that there was a general sentiment throughout the nation favourable to the struggling Greeks, conceived that the best means of proving the truth of his conjectures, was to make an appeal to the public in their behalf. Having adopted the measures within his reach for carrying this intention into effect, by applying to those, whose weight and talents in society were most likely to facilitate the object in view, it is a fact well known to the gentlemen who first joined your committee, that the most scrupulous care was taken to address the invitations for its formation, to persons of every party, without the smallest regard to political bias or religious persuasion, convinced, that however important the influence which Greece might be destined to exercise on the state of Europe on a future day, the question was now one of humanity in favor of a Christian community threatened with extermination.

Contrary to the hopes and anticipations of those who generously undertook to form the committee, the numbers were at first extremely limited: it was however considered of primary importance, that a beginning should be made, and that M. Luriottis, who felt anxious to return without delay, should not be suffered to depart without some proof, that he had not paid a fruitless visit to the British metropolis.

A conviction on my own part, that the calumnies and falsehoods which had gone abroad, relative to the origin and progress of the Greek struggle, were the chief, perhaps the only cause of the question not exciting its due share of attention in this country, and that it was of the very highest moment, that every evil impression thus made should be removed as speedily as possible, determined me to accompany M. Luriottis as the humble representative of your committee, and with a view of procuring such information as could only be obtained on the spot. It occurred to me, that the presence of an agent of some kind would be favorably interpreted by the provisional government and people of Greece; and a most flattering reception afterwards convinced me that I was not mistaken. My wishes having been communicated to your committee on its first meeting, Friday, February 28th, I had the satisfaction to find that they were fully approved, and an arrangement was accordingly made for corresponding with your honorary secretary.

Leaving London on the 4th March, we proceeded to Marseilles, with the intention of embarking there for Hydra. Owing however to the want of more frequent communication, and the approaching hostilities between France and Spain, we resolved to proceed by land to Otranto, and but for the refusal of the Marchese Foscaldo, minister of His Neapolitan Majesty at Rome, to sign my passport, we should have reached Corfu much sooner. Forced to retrace our steps, and embark at Ancona, we did not land in the above island before the 21st of April, and only reached the shores of the Morea ten days afterwards.

Having landed at Pyrgi, a small cove opposite the island of Zante, early in the morning of May 30th, the first object which struck my sight, was a number of husbandmen and females busily employed in the various occupations of tillage, weeding, &c.; while numerous flocks and herds were

seen grazing on a plain of about fifteen miles in circumference, and surrounded by a range of hills thickly studded with olive and other trees. On reaching Pyrgos, a large town eight miles further on, commanding a delightful prospect of its extensive plain and neighbouring country, including the mountainous districts of Calavrita and Arcadia, with the sea in the distance, there appeared to have been no material interruption to agricultural pursuits, as we continually passed through vineyards, corn-fields, and orchards of mulberry-trees. Groups of women and children were also seen round the wells, occupied either in washing or drawing water, as if enjoying the most perfect security. These enlivening and unexpected scenes continued while we followed the romantic and ever-winding course of the Alpheus, through the most enchanting country I ever beheld, for a distance of more than sixty miles, when we ascended the range of mountains which intersect the Morea throughout its centre. Here the road lay over rocks and precipices of frightful aspect, forming a number of almost impenetrable passes for a considerable extent. Passing over a region of lofty pines, which cover a space of many leagues, we descended into another well cultivated plain, but destitute of trees, previous to reaching that on which Tripolizza is built.

The almost total destruction of the Turkish army, which followed its attempt to invade the Morea in the autumn of 1822, as well as the various important events to which that memorable campaign gave rise, having induced the provisional government to convoke a general congress at Astros, the members of the executive and deputies had just reached Tripolizza as we arrived. Whether we regard the importance of the measures decided there, or the dignity and moderation with which the deliberations were carried on, the meeting at Astros may be justly considered as one

of the most impressive and interesting events of the struggle.

Although the decree of convocation, which also pointed out the mode to be pursued in the new elections, together with the necessity of only returning men distinguished for their patriotism and virtue, merely specified the number of representatives prescribed by the law of Epidaurus; yet, such was the eagerness of the people throughout the Confederation to contribute to the common weal, that above three hundred deputies had assembled by the beginning of April; there was also a large body of troops, nearly all the military chiefs, and many thousand casual visitors. The meetings and deliberations of congress were held under the shade of an orange and lemon grove, between sunrise and noon; while all those who were desirous of hearing the debates, or witnessing the proceedings, occupied the surrounding space thickly shaded with olive-trees.

The first care of the congress thus assembled was to revise and correct such articles in the constitution framed at Epidaurus sixteen months before, as experience had proved to be susceptible of amelioration. Adopting the most liberal institutions of Europe for their models, there was not a single clause added or retrenched, without a precedent being previously established, either in the practice of the British Constitution or that of the United States, which the legislators of Greece consulted, as knowing it to emanate from the letter and spirit of English law. I ought not to omit stating, as connected with this portion of the labours of congress, that its principal attention was directed to the best mode of drawing up civil and criminal codes, and of introducing the trial by jury into the legal procedure of Greece, as well as a regular system of public education on the principles of Bell and Lancaster. Having decreed the necessary clauses upon the above points, so essential to the perfection

of their civil organization, the executive was directed to take such steps as might be most likely to produce the benefits anticipated from them, without loss of time. The second object of solicitude related to the state of the finances, public accounts, and national resources. These being subjected to a careful examination, and various modifications introduced into the political code, for the more prompt collection of the revenue, and prevention of fiscal abuses, the third and last subject of deliberation was an inquiry into the extent of the naval and military forces of the confederation, as also relative to the most effectual plans to be adopted for repelling every future attempt of the enemy.

Having decided that the seat of government should be fixed at Tripolizza, previous to its final establishment at Athens, the last act of congress was an address to the people, in which the object of assembling and a succinct notice of the proceedings were detailed. This energetic paper also proclaimed the national independence, appealing once more to the Christian world for its sympathy and support; and after thanking those who had merited its approbation by their patriotism and public spirit, concluded by imploring "the OMNIPOTENT FATHER OF ALL to extend his ALMIGHTY PROTECTION to the people of Greece, and crown their efforts with success."

Numbers of those who were present as Astros have informed me that the result of each day's deliberation was watched with the most intense anxiety by all classes, representing the whole as a scene of the greatest enthusiasm and unanimity, with the exception of one single point—the propriety of distributing a portion of the national domains among the chiefs and soldiery. Aware that more than nineteen twentieths of the territory, freed from the tyrant, had belonged to Turkish proprietors, it was extremely natural for those whose lives had been passed in the labours of

agriculture as slaves, to feel anxious about the possession of a spot of ground, however small, which they could call their own; and there was every disposition on the part of government and congress to accede to their wishes. Such, however, were the difficulties that presented themselves in every stage of the discussion which followed the proposal to alienate a part of the domains; the probabilities that it would interfere with the duties of the army; the obstacles to an equitable distribution, in the existing state of the war; and above all, the effect which it might produce on the public credit of the confederation, when the executive should be authorised to contract a foreign loan,—that the question was deferred by unanimous consent, till that period when it could be carried into effect without exposing the nation to any of the foregoing serious inconveniences.

My motive for having thus called the attention of your committee to the proceedings at Astros, and dwelt on them somewhat in detail, is, that they were almost the exclusive topic of conversation on my arrival at Tripolizza, whilst they are, perhaps, more calculated to illustrate the real spirit of the cause for which Greece is contending, than any thing else I could have possibly adduced.

But there are many other circumstances connected with the origin and progress of this extraordinary struggle, which are scarcely less worthy of attention; and though the limits of a report, intended rather as the outline of a few prominent facts, than a minute record of events, preclude the possibility of my going to the extent I could wish, there are yet some particulars so closely allied to the interests of Greece and humanity, that they cannot be passed over in silence on the present occasion.

Being principally desirous of ascertaining how far the conduct of the provisional government and people of Greece are entitled to the support of the Christian world, without

any reference to their imperscriptible claims as the victims of oppression and professors of a common faith, I need scarcely inform your committee, that I left no effort untried to obtain correct data on the circumstances which led to the struggle in the first instance; and, in the second place, to discover how far the charges of cruelty, which had been so industriously circulated and had so frequently furnished an excuse for those to whom applications had been made in behalf of the unhappy Greeks, were founded in truth.

With regard to the origin of the Greek contest, this is not the place to enter into a minute detail of all the facts, and indeed many of them would be irrelevant to the object of your committee: it cannot however be too soon proclaimed, nor too widely circulated,—and I will stake my existence on the exact veracity of the assertion,—that there was not the smallest connexion, either *directly* or *indirectly*, between the rising in Greece and passing events in the rest of Europe. Having made this positive and solemn declaration, upon the importance and necessity of which, to the people of Greece, it would be superfluous to dilate, the members of your committee do not require to be informed, that the struggle was first commenced in Moldavia by a general in the service of a great northern power; and that although his proceedings were subsequently disclaimed, and himself disgraced, yet the irreproachable character of Alexander Ipsilanti, his bravery while serving in the Russian campaigns, and more especially the place of aide de camp he held about the person of His Imperial Majesty, were pre-eminently calculated to create a belief that the insurrection was tacitly approved by the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh. This alone was surely more than sufficient to excite the hopes of the Greek people in the western provinces, if it did not stimulate them to fly to arms. But irresistible as the call of Ipsilanti certainly was, so little had the events in

Walachia and Moldavia been anticipated in the Morea, that *no preparation whatever* was made for a rising; nor was it until the massacre of the venerable and virtuous Patriarch Gregory, not to mention thousands of unoffending Greeks at Constantinople and other places, together with the incarceration of all the primates at Tripolizza as hostages, and an order for disarming those of the people who had been hitherto allowed to carry a musket for the purpose of private amusement, that they saw no alternative between resistance and extermination. When I add, that even the present President, Mavromichalis, one of the most opulent men in Greece, had not a single barrel of gunpowder in his possession, on the insurrection's breaking out, and that more than two-thirds of the male population capable of bearing arms in the Morea and other points, were under the necessity of sallying forth without any other weapons than sticks, I am sure it is perfectly unnecessary to say more, in order to convince your committee that the attempt to connect the Greek struggle with those events which continue to agitate the south of Europe, is as unfounded as it is cruel!

As to the excesses attributed to the Greek soldiery, it would appear that the number of able and eloquent writers who have advocated the cause of Greece, have brought forward such facts and arguments as must satisfy every impartial observer, that these excesses, like every other subject calculated to prejudice the cause, have been most wantonly exaggerated. The whole course of my own enquiries enables me to confirm the fact; and in repeating that the severities exercised on the enemy were inevitable and unavoidable, I shall further add, that it is my most firm conviction, that when all the concomitant circumstances which led to the excesses at Tripolizza are made known, they will appear mild, when compared to those committed by the

best disciplined and most civilized troops of Europe in many instances during the last fifty years.

In common with all the friends of the Greek cause, I lament, most deeply lament, the excesses which marked the early stages of the contest: but I would entreat those who judge them, not to pronounce before they become thoroughly acquainted with the innumerable provocations which, in war at least, would fully justify still greater excesses, without referring to those centuries of galling and intolerable oppression which the Greek people had to avenge.

It is scarcely possible to allude to the mode in which the cruelties of the Greeks are dwelt upon and magnified, without recurring to the sufferings to which that unfortunate people have been exposed ever since the commencement of their struggle. But who could paint these, and in what language can they be described? Much as your committee has heard concerning the horrors perpetrated by a race to whom the virtues of pity and benevolence are totally unknown, and whose fundamental maxim of faith is to extirpate the votaries of Christianity, I am fully borne out in stating, that the European public is, as yet, most imperfectly and inadequately informed on the subject. It is true, the public prints have for the last three years teemed with the recital of massacres and murders under every possible shape and aggravation which the imagination can conceive; massacres which have consigned, in that short space, not less than sixty thousand of our fellow Christians of every age and sex to death, under torments such as history affords no example of, the far greater part of whom were the innocent victims of a mercilesss soldiery. But have they disclosed those indescribable horrors, even worse than death, to which the helpless women and children of Greece have been exposed, before the moment of execution, or while in the hands of their oppressors? Would it be possible for the

most able pen, or eloquent tongue, to describe the scenes which followed the executions of the capital, at Adrianople, Salonica, Cassandra, Mount Athos, Smyrna, Scala-Novo, Aivali, Rhodes, Cyprus, Candia, and Scio? It is impossible to believe, that if the nameless and innumerable atrocities committed by the Infidels, whenever they could gain even a momentary ascendency, had reached the knowledge of a nation whose annals bear such constant testimony to its charity and commiseration for the woes of others, no matter what their clime or colour, it could have been deterred from coming forward at an earlier period of this dreadful contest. Had the cries reached our country of infants torn from their mothers' breasts and flung into the sea, or dashed against the rocks, as at Scio and various other places—of fathers, husbands and brothers, butchered before the eyes of mothers, wives and sisters, who were themselves destined either to share a similar fate, or be dragged into that hopeless slavery in which thousands languish at this moment,—it is needless to say that every British heart would have melted, and every British hand have been stretched out to succour or to save a perishing community!

I turn with pleasure from the sufferings of the Greeks, to their triumphs—triumphs achieved under difficulties, dangers, and privations that would have appalled the stoutest hearts, and which seem to be rather the work of that OMNIPOTENT GOD whom the proclamation of Astros invokes, than of an unarmed, scattered, disorganized, and, I may almost add, deserted people! The noblemen and gentlemen composing your committee have watched and exulted in the naval and military victories of the Hellenists, from the commencement of their struggle up to the destruction of the hordes who invaded the Morea last year, when it really seemed as if an offended Divinity had given them up to the swords of a long persecuted and suffering people.

This almost miraculous deliverance of the Morea, at a time when the most sanguine friends of the Greek cause in England had nearly given it up as lost, may be justly hailed as a totally new and brilliant epoch in the contest; for, there is no instance on record subsequently to the capture of Napoli de Romania, one of the first fruits of the triumphs gained on the plain of Argos, in which the Greeks have not completely disproved the accusations of their enemies, by showing every disposition to conduct the war on principles strictly conformable to the laws of civilized nations. When I add, that they have acted thus in the midst of incessant provocations on the part of the Turks, whose excesses continue unabated to this hour, it will be for your Committee to decide how far the calumniators of the former are justified in their system of ungenerous hostility.

Your committee is doubtless aware, that in all the proclamations and other addresses which have emanated from the provisional government, or chiefs of the confederation, an appeal has been invariably made to their Christian brethern of the rest of Europe. Never was appeal more just or legitimate. This appeal is founded on facts the most obvious and incontrovertible. There is scarcely a single Greek, however ignorant or illiterate, who does not know, that the torch, extinguished for a time by the effects of tyranny and barbarism, but which now illumines the greatest portion of our hemisphere, was first lighted up in Greece; and that all we possess to cheer and animate existence, was derived from their forefathers! As, however, flippancy and prejudice have occasionally combined, to reject the justice of an appeal founded upon grounds which no generous mind would dispute, it remains for me to show your committee, by the statement of a few facts, that the Greeks of the present day have claims to the support of the Christian world, totally distinct from the incalculable be-

nefits conferred on mankind by the wisdom and virtue of their ancestors. Nor am I without a hope, that the claims I am about to put forward will be deemed unanswerable, if they are not considered as irresistible.

It is, I presume, impossible to separate the actual struggle of the Greeks from that period of European history when, after a succession of crusades, in which so large a part of its best blood and treasure was sacrificed to liberate the Holy Land, and other points occupied by the Saracen invaders, the ultimate result was their abandonment by the sovereigns of Christendom in the 15th century—thus leaving a Christian population of many millions a prey to a servitude at once more galling and cruel than any ever imposed on man. Had some stipulation been made for the protection of life, faith, or property, in favor of a people thus left to their wretched fate, there might be some shadow of plausibility on the part of those who now deprecate interference and aid. But so far from this having been the case, I am borne out by history, when I assert that the Greek people were destined to undergo a bondage as unconditional and oppressive as ever weighed down a nation. Under such a calamity: and, to use the emphatic language of the proclamation of Astros, "deprived of their liberties and substance; exposed to unheard of cruelties by those who have ever been strangers to justice and humanity;" what, I will ask, but innate virtue united to the most heroic resolution, could have enabled the Greeks, not only to sustain the honor of Christianity, but to cherish and cultivate those qualities which dignify and ornament its followers?

It is not my intention to become an indiscriminate panegyrist of the Greeks at the expense of truth, or to deny the existence of vices among them—vices which are partly inseparable from our nature, but much more generally de-

rived from the peculiar circumstances of their enslaved and degraded condition: but I will say, from the observation and enquiry of many years, that I am justified in pronouncing them to be an eminently moral and religious people. Without occupying the time of your committee with a more extended development of this opinion at present, it will perhaps be sufficient to call your attention to the virtues which so generally distinguish the domestic circle in the lower and middling classes of the Greek community, the proverbial affection between parents and children, relatives and friends: their abstemiousness and industry, unequalled by any other nation in Europe; scrupulous regard to religious duties; and above all, a disposition to improve and acquire knowledge, which cannot but strike the most superficial observer. A slight reference to the unceasing and persevering efforts made throughout Greece and Asia Minor, during the last thirty years, to establish schools and colleges, as well as the progress of those who are sent to study in France, Italy, and Germany, fully prove the latter part of my assertion; while the events of the pending contest would furnish endless illustrations of the former. The mode in which Greeks of every description minister to each other's necessities in this hour of trial and of suffering, is truly admirable; whilst the readiness with which thousands of the husbandmen have returned to the culture of the lands abandoned by the Turks, after aiding in defeating the enemy, displays a degree of flexibility in the midst of misfortune, that reflects the very highest honor on the national character of this singular people. I regret that the limits of this report do not enable me still further to enlarge on the conduct and character of the Greeks, by detailing those individual acts of heroism and bravery which have distinguished hundreds of both sexes during their struggle for emancipation: these acts, whether they regard

the spontaneous sacrifices of property to an immense amount, or acts of personal intrepidity, in which even the women of Greece have braved all the perils and dangers of battle, deserve to be recorded in letters of gold; while they prove that the spirit of patriotism and public virtue, which animated the heroes of Marathon, Salamis, and Platea, are not extinct after ages of servitude and suffering!

As there is no ambition so deeply rooted in the Greek character as the desire of instruction, no wonder that it should predominate, now that there is a prospect of being able to realise the wishes on this subject which so universally pervade the nation. Nothing but a determination to encourage this most laudable disposition, could have induced the provisional government to devote a part of its attention and circumscribed funds to the establishment of Lancasterian schools, while the enemy was still so near, and the means of subsistence were often wanted for the troops. The interest attached to this important subject by your committee, will not be a little heightened, when informed that the seat of government had not been established at Tripolizza more than three weeks, when I had the satisfaction of witnessing one of the largest Mosques in the city, converted into a school on Lancaster's principle, at which above seventy children of both sexes, under the age of ten years, were receiving instruction when I quitted the Morea. Prince Mavrocordato had already established two, almost in sight of the infidel forces, at Messolunghi and Gastouni, previously to his attending the deliberations at Astros.

Having thus cursorily endeavoured to prove that the appeals of the Greek people are not exclusively founded on the claims of their ancestors, and that our support is really due to them as men and Christians, I will not attempt to add another remark on the expediency of making every pos-

sible effort to convince the Greeks, they have not appealed to us invain.

There are other and important grounds for claiming the immediate protection and support of Europe on behalf of the Greeks, founded on the political considerations which arise out of their situation, and are connected with those commercial advantages that all must necessarily derive from a future intercourse with Greece, as well as the certainty of its opening a new and profitable market for the produce of European industry. But these are points which more properly belong to those whose influence enables them to accelerate the hour of independence. Confining myself exclusively to the question as it regards the great and paramount interests of humanity, I shall proceed to state the mode in which the beneficent objects of your committee may be most effectually carried into execution, for the benefit of those whom you have so generously come forward to relieve.

Notwithstanding the claims of the Greeks to the most active benevolence and solicitous care which the Christian community could possibly bestow on them, both on the score of religion and humanity, it is melancholy to reflect, that owing to one of those inexplicable fatalities which sometimes interfere to mar the best interests of society, and disappoint the hopes of the good and wise, scarcely has anything been done where the voice of God and Nature seemed to stimulate every man imbued with a particle of religion or charity.— Thus it is, that while the ill-fated Greeks were struggling against unnumbered difficulties at home, and the bitterest persecution from without, the pious and immaculate office of ministering to their wants, and alleviating some portion of their sufferings, has been confined to a very small portion of the charitable and humane in Germany, Switzerland, and England. Here it would be an

injustice which your Committee could not sanction, were I to omit thus publicly acknowledging, that, in this instance at least, the double palm of priority and benevolence belongs to the former. Difficult as it will be to extenuate our conduct to posterity, more especially when that posterity reflects, that motives of the strongest *self-interest* united with those of charity, to impel us on, it is hoped that when the most callous can no longer find the shadow of an excuse for withholding their mite, England will retrieve a character which ought to be as dear to her sons, as their political existence and civil immunities.

It is among those facts which cannot receive too much publicity, that the old and young, rich and poor, have contributed to the sainted work of aiding the Greeks, amongst our northern neighbours, among whom even the schoolboys have been frequently known to devote the trifles allowed for recreation to the Greek fund. And let it be loudly proclaimed, that the pastors of Switzerland and Germany, who are indigent in comparison with the pastors of England, have been first and foremost in the sacred duty!

In the event of your Committee judging it expedient to make another appeal to the British public, I venture to suggest that an application should be more particularly addressed to the religious communities generally. These are bound by every tie, both as Christians and as men, to succour the Greeks, and contribute towards their speedy restoration to the bosom of the European family, as well as to the blessings of an extended civilization. It might well be regarded as obtrusive, were I to suggest the various and irresistible grounds which your Committee has to call the attention of the Established Clergy of the realm, to the claims of the Greek people. When that influential and

important body are satisfied, beyond the fear of contradiction, that the Greek cause is the cause of religion, humanity, and justice—unconnected, either *directly or indirectly*, with what has occurred in other places, and that it is moreover further removed from a question of party than any question ever was—I am sure they will no longer resist the performance of a duty, which seems to be enjoined by every consideration of prudence, no less than by the great maxims of their faith.

Next to the foregoing appeals, your Committee would be fully justified in calling upon the matrons and young women of England: these are justly looked up to as models of virtue and benevolence throughout Europe.—Can they resist an appeal which is made in favor of their own sex, of whom thousands of the most pure and beautiful which ever graced the Christian community, are at this moment pining in misery and in want, in Greece, the Ionian Islands and various parts of the continent? Should this appeal be made, your Committee can truly inform the women of England, that those of Greece are more like themselves in all that constitutes female excellence, than any other women I could name. When it is added, that the most wretched of the Greek matrons and young women are those who have heretofore been blessed with all the goods of fortune, I cannot persuade myself that it will be made in vain.

Finally, it will be no trifling consolation for your Committee to reflect, that those of every party, rank, and station, who may henceforth persist in withholding charity from Greece, cannot screen themselves under any one of the futile pleas, which have hitherto served more as an excuse than a reason for lukewarmness and indifference.

Being for the present chiefly desirous of establishing the claims of the Greeks to the sympathy and support of their Christian brethern of England, I shall take an early

opportunity of furnishing your Committee with such details relative to the actual state of the Confederation, form of government, degree of organization it has attained, population, naval and military strength, and, more particularly, those extensive resources, both in the national domains and products of the soil—which will enable the Executive to negotiate a loan in any of the European capitals. In the meantime, it affords me the utmost pleasure to be enabled to inform your committee, that the result of the Greek triumphs by sea and land is such as to promise a happy termination to the contest. But it cannot be too deeply impressed on the attention of your committee, that a contest commenced and carried on under such discouraging auspices has produced a considerable degree of exhaustion, while the very nature of the war precludes all possibility of the Greeks availing themselves of the advantages to be derived from their rich and prolific soil. It must therefore be almost superfluous to state, that at no period of the struggle has it been more necessary to appeal to the British public in favour of a nation, which is, in truth, only sustaining the cause of civilization and Christianity, against barbarism, vice and ignorance. Although there is little doubt, that any proposition of the provisional government for negotiating a loan would be favorably received in a country possessing so much superfluous capital as England, and where such undeniable guarantees can be given, still some months must unavoidably elapse before supplies can be obtained from this source: and the present campaign is one, which must in a great measure decide the fate of Greece. It therefore becomes my duty to apprise your committee, that although the successes which are announced almost daily, prove that the courage and resolution of the Hellenists remain undiminished, and that the neglect and in-

difference of their Christian brethren would seem only to stimulate them to still greater efforts; yet, are they conducting the war under the greatest disadvantages; so much, indeed, that I can safely assure your committee there are, while I write, thousands of those driven from their homes, and whose wives and children were carried into slavery, either seeking a refuge from the knife of the infidel among the crags of Olympus, Macrinoro, and Volos; or, if armed, bravely opposing the enemy in the passes of Thermopylæ and Corinth, without bread to eat or raiment to cover them! Need I say more to rouse the slumbering spirit of benevolence and Christian charity? I will only add, that a comparatively small portion of the funds which have been subscribed in this philanthropic country, to disseminate the blessings of Christianity beyond the seas, would, if promptly applied to the wants of the struggling Greeks, perhaps save a *whole nation of Christians* from perishing!

With respect to the benefits which your committee can confer on Greece, they will of course entirely depend on the extent of those means which are placed in your hands by the liberality of the public. It must be obvious to all who are acquainted with the subject, that amidst the chief wants of the confederation, money to pay the troops is the most conspicuous. Should it be impossible to remit a sum worthy the acceptance of the provisional government, there is still a wide field opened to your committee, in affording the means of organization to the Greek armies, and promoting the wishes of the executive with regard to public education, agriculture, and the useful arts. In whatever mode your committee may judge it most expedient to continue its valuable labours, I am decidedly of opinion, that there should be an understanding established with the central committees of Germany and Switzerland, in order that

the succours sent out may not clash with each other, as well as to give greater effect to the intentions of all parties. As the facilities of communicating with Greece are infinitely greater from England than Germany, the societies of that country are fully aware that their efforts must derive great additional advantage from a co-operation with your committee. Should this unity of action take place, it will be a sublime spectacle, almost worthy of the Divinity, to witness the modern possessors of civilization and science, associated for the purpose of imparting them to the descendants of those from whom these inestimable blessings originally sprung: thus repaying a debt of endless gratitude!

The task I have undertaken would be left incomplete, were I to omit stating to your committee, with what heartfelt satisfaction and strong feelings of gratitude the provisional government and people of Greece heard of the Associations which had been formed here before my departure for the Morea. That composed of the society of FRIENDS had been dispensing the means of existence to hundreds of both sexes at Trieste, Venice, Marseilles, Ancona, and other places. Sanguine in my hopes, that the charity of millions would not be exceeded by the charity of a few isolated (though uniformly benevolent) individuals, as compared with our population, I ventured to assure the Greeks that they might safely calculate on the success of an Association formed without any regard to party distinctions or political animosities. While dwelling on this pleasing topic, I even went so far as to add, that Greece was destined to produce the miracle of uniting the most discordant elements in the great and blessed work of Christian charity. If I deceived myself, and the Greeks are disappointed, the fault does not surely rest with your committee; and whatever the final result of your efforts may be, history will not have

to record that resuscitated Greece appealed to England, as her natural friend and ally, without one solitary hand being stretched forth either to sympathise with her sufferings or co-operate in her regeneration!

EDWARD BLAQUIERE.

London, Sept. 13th, 1823.

ADDITIONAL FACTS.

Read to the Committee, on Saturday, September 20th, 1823.

HAVING in the report, which I had the honor of presenting to your committee in its last meeting, endeavoured to remove those unfounded statements which have circulated throughout Europe with regard to the Greek contest, and operated so unfavorably to the Greeks, as well as to establish the claims of that unfortunate people to the support and sympathy of the Christian world, I shall now proceed to state such particulars relative to the civil and military organization of the Hellenists, the territory they have acquired, their means of defence, and general resources, as may be of use to your committee in drawing up an appeal to the British nation, founded on the first report.

Your Committee is aware that the political code of the Confederation, or law of Epidaurus, as it is more commonly called, established that the system of Government should be elective, consisting of Representatives chosen by the people, and an Executive of five Members selected from

the Legislative Body. There are, besides, Ministers of *Finance*, *War*, *Interior*, *Public Instruction*, and *Police*, named by the Executive for carrying its decrees into effect; also a Secretary General, charged with the management of foreign relations; this last office is now held by Prince MAVROCORDATO, the late President. The duties and powers allotted to each department of the State, were prescribed by the law of EPIDAURUS, and, as already stated, several salutary modifications and improvements took place during the meeting at Astros: and I cannot omit repeating that the institutions of England and North America were those to which the legislators of Greece chiefly looked for precedents and models. It is scarcely necessary to repeat to your Committee that, independently of the measures adopted there for regulating the finances and collecting the revenue, the greatest importance was attached to the providing, without much loss of time, for a general system of public education, as the best means of proving to Europe the anxiety of the Greek people to re-acquire that knowledge of which they had been deprived by centuries of oppression.

The amount of revenue collected for this year is necessarily very limited, and chiefly derived from farming out the crops on the national domains, of which only a small portion were sown. The crops on the plain of Gastouni, in the Morea, one of the finest in the world, and which was even this year worth five millions of francs, only yielded a sum of 800,000, owing to its vicinity to Patras. That of Argos, equally rich, though of much less extent, has been in fallow ever since the invasion of last year: there is however little doubt of its being all turned to account in the coming season. Your Committee will not think my general statements exaggerated, when I add, that the produce

of Candia, in oil alone, amounts on an average to 400,000 barrels per annum, and that each of them brings an average price of eight Spanish dollars in the markets of France and Italy.

With respect to the naval and military orginization, it is necessarily very imperfect: this arises exclusively from the want of pecuniary means; for as yet, it has been totally impossible either to levy taxes to any considerable amount, on a people who were kept in a state of the most abject poverty and dependence on their late oppressors, much less to take advantage of a soil the most prolific in Europe.

Although nearly the whole male population of the Morea, capable of carrying arms, is provided with pistols and attagans, the number which can take the field is comparatively limited, depending almost entirely on the means possessed by the leaders, each of whom has hitherto been unable to employ more followers than he could provide for out of his personal resources, and the scanty and precarious aid of Government. These troops are also supplied with muskets, and are led by several chiefs or *Capitani*. The wants and privations of the Greek army are of a nature the most discouraging. When I state that there is not more than a third of the number, thus employed in saving a whole people from extermination, supplied with sufficient clothing to shelter them from the inclemencies of a mountain warfare, that they often march forty-miles a day, almost invariably sleep in the open air, and frequently pass two or three days without any other food than the herbs of the field, the astonishment of your Committee at the bravery and perseverance of the Greek soldiery will not, I am sure, be diminished.

Though the number of horses, taken from the Turks, and now in the Morea, is sufficient to mount from five to

eight thousand cavalry, it will be impossible for the Government to avail itself of this species of force until provided with funds.

From the above facts, I need hardly add, that the Greek army receives no pay whatever. The general mode, adopted by the chiefs, is to advance a small sum to each soldier previous to entering the field: with this he provides himself with bread, tobacco, and whatever other necessaries he may require, as far as the supply will go; for it very seldom exceeds two Spanish dollars.

The naval efforts of the Confederation, like those of the army, have been principally, if not altogether, supported by the patriotism and public spirit of a few individuals at Hydra, Spezzia, Ipsara, and Samos. There have not been less than a hundred ships and vessels, of various sizes, employed at the expense of about thirty ship-owners, ever since the commencement of the struggle; and the number has on more than one occasion, extended to one hundred and eighty. As the mercantile marine of Greece had always been armed to a considerable extent, there required nothing more than an additional number of seamen to enable the fleets to obtain those triumphs, by which the enemy has lost three line of battle-ships, a large frigate, and several smaller vessels, not to mention the various expeditions, which have been directed against the coast of Asia Minor, Candia, and other points.

The Greek seamen, who amount to about 20,000 of the most expert in Europe, receive no regular pay; all they require for their services, is the means of subsistence for their families. I am enabled to assure your Committee, that the delay, which has unhappily occurred in the naval operations of the present campaign, was occasioned altogether by the want of funds to make the necessary advances to the seamen.

There is, however, just ground of belief, that, though almost exhausted by former sacrifices, the patriots of the above-mentioned Islands have again come forward, and that a very formidable fleet is now at sea. I need scarcely add, that the exertions of the Greek Navy are generally cramped, and must continue to be retarded, until the Government possesses the means of providing for its permanent organization.

It is with such means as I have thus shortly pointed out, that above a hundred thousand of the infidels, whose path was marked with carnage and devastation during the first two years of the contest, have been destroyed, and the whole of the Morea, Livadia, Negropont, a great portion of Romelia in Epirus, together with the islands of Candia, Milo, Naxia. Tino, Myconos, Skyro, Samos, Andro, Zea, Patmos, Serpho, Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, have been conquered, there being only a few isolated points in the enemy's possession, viz.:—Acro-Corinth, Patras, Modon, Coron, and Carysta, on the continent, and Canea and Retymo in Candia. Here I should add, that all of these places are either in a state of siege, or closely blockaded. The number of Turks shut up within the walls, and who cannot leave the gates without falling into the hands of the Greeks, does not exceed 10,000 men, two thirds of whom form the garrison of Patras. Unprovided with battering and field trains, the chief means possessed by the Greek forces for reducing the above points, are confined to a rigorous system of blockade, and occasional assaults. Until however they are furnished with more extensive means, particularly besieging materials, it is to be feared that most of the strong holds I have mentioned will remain in the power of the enemy. It is therefore obvious, that next to a supply of money to pay the troops, and upon which I offered my humble opinion in the report of Saturday last,

light and field artillery, Congreve rockets, spherical case shot, implements for pioneering, and scaling-ladders would be amongst the most acceptable offerings which your Committee could send to the struggling Greeks.

I have in more than one instance pointed out the inutility of sending troops to Greece, while those who are already there have such inadequate means of existence, no wonder that the German auxiliaries sent out should be reduced to a state of the greatest misery and privation. In deprecating the policy of sending soldiers, I recommended that a few skilful artisans should be sent under a steady and competent direction. I now beg leave to repeat this suggestion. Your Committee is fully aware that no individual should attempt to visit Greece as a volunteer in the cause, without being provided with money enough to pay his expences for twelve months at least.

Touching the resources of the Confederation, I have stated to your Committee, that not less than *nineteen twentieths* of the territory, now in the hands of the Greeks, belonged to their Turkish masters. When it is added that little more was left to the people than the mountains and arid districts, some notion may be formed of the riches which they will acquire, whenever a distribution of the national domains take place. These are, in the mean time, reserved by the Government as guarantees for any foreign loan it may be induced to contract. Without entering into those statistical details, which more properly belong to a regular work on the state of Greece, it may be of importance to observe that the staple productions, upon which the Greeks may calculate upon becoming one of the most opulent nations of Europe, consist of corn, olive oil, wine, silk, wool, valonea, and fruit. The other sources of national wealth in Greece, will spring from the talents, industry, and enter-

prise of her sons, guided by liberal institutions and an united government.

Such are the additional facts which I now beg to submit for the information of your Committee; but as no report, however elaborate, could do justice to the subject, it is my duty to apprize your Committee, that I have nearly completed a work, in which the origin and progress of the Greek struggle will be set forth in the clearest manner it can, and that in my attempt to vindicate the rights of Greece from the effects of envy, malevolence, and falsehood, and to expose her unmerited wrongs, I shall be guided by the strictest regard to impartiality and truth.

(Signed)

EDWARD BLAQUIERE.

London, Sept. 20, 1823.

THE END.

LONDON:

SHACKELL AND ARROWSMITH, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

ERRATA.

Page	3.	..... for	1543,	read	1453.
——	36.	..... —	Εταιρῆα	——	Εταιρεά.
——	67.	..... —	Aristi,	——	Aristides.
——	97.	.... . —	Arcadia	——	Achaia.
——	99.	..... —	resident,	——	residents.
——	102.	..... —	Tagytus,	——	Taygetus.
——	103.	..... —	Travesa,	——	Prevesa.
——	—	..... —	Mainas	——	Maina.
——	154.	..... —	Jamael,	——	Ishmael.
——	196.	..... —	inexactable,	——	inexorable.
——	—	..... —	Mussulmans,	——	Mussulman.
——	203.	.... . —	Coslantino,	——	Costantino.
——	205.	..... —	Colotroni,	——	Colocotroni.


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